THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 158 NEW YORK · SATURDAY · APRIL 15, 1944 NUMBER 16

IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 433

EDITORIALS
Lessons of Wisconsin 435
Civil Service Snoopers 436

ARTICLES
Washington Blues *by I. F. Stone* 437
There Stands De Gaulle *by Freda Kirchwey* 438
Russia in the Balkans *by Bogdan Raditsa* 440
G. I. in India—II 442
Fifty Years Ago in *The Nation* 443
A Pan of Bones *by Lucille B. Milner* 444
In the Wind 446

POLITICAL WAR
The New France *by Charles de Gaulle* 447
The Pucheu Trial *by a Frenchman* 449

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Abstract Act *by Clement Greenberg* 450
Plain Talk About China *by Agnes Smedley* 452
The South and the Negro *by E. Franklin Frazier* 453
With Straw *by Volta Torrey* 454
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 454
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 456
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 456
Films *by James Agee* 456
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 456

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 458

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE NO. 60 *by Jack Barrett* 460

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Managing Editor J. KING GORDON
Washington Editor I. F. STONE
Literary Editor MARGARET MARSHALL
Editor Political War Section J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO
Associate Editors ROBERT BENDINER [*On leave with the army*] KEITH HUTCHISON MAXWELL S. STEWART
Assistant Editor J. MITCHELL MORSE
Music Critic B. H. HAGGIN
Drama Critic JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Board of Contributing Editors
NORMAN ANGELL JONATHAN DANIELS
LOUIS FISCHER REINHOLD NIEBUHR
Business Manager HUGO VAN ARX
Advertising Manager MARY HOWARD ELLISON
Director of Nation Associates LILLIE SCHULTZ

Published weekly and copyright, 1944, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building.

The Shape of Things

THE RED ARMY'S PASSAGE OF THE PRUT, which brought it on indisputably foreign soil for the first time, was accompanied by signs of improved Allied cooperation in regard to the Balkans. In the military sphere, the attacks by long-range American bombers on Budapest and Bucharest gave timely support to the Russian advance by striking at bottlenecks in the German supply lines. But it was a stroke of political warfare that gave the best evidence of new coordination among the Soviets, America, and Britain. As the Russian troops crossed the Rumanian frontier, Foreign Commissar Molotov received the foreign press and gave out the text of a broadcast statement declaring that the sole purpose of the invasion was to pursue the enemy. It added that Russia had no territorial ambitions and no intention of "altering the existing social structure of Rumania." This statement had previously been submitted to Washington and London and won the hearty approval of Mr. Hull and Mr. Churchill. It gives the lie direct to much anti-Soviet propaganda, and it should serve to strengthen the anti-fascist forces in the Balkans, which, as Bogdan Raditsa points out on another page, are seeking Russian leadership, but not domination, both now and in the post-war period. Whether Russia's declaration will immediately influence the policy of the Rumanian government is more doubtful. The Rumanians, like the Finns and the Hungarians, would like to get out of the war, but they cannot make peace with Russia without fighting Germany. With the Nazis well intrenched in their country and determined to hold on to it as long as possible, there is no way of untying this Gordian knot. It must be cut by the desperate measure of changing sides in the midst of the battle and treating the Russians as liberators instead of invaders.

*

ALTHOUGH REPORTS FROM THE INDIAN front are difficult to interpret, the immediate outlook appears gloomy. The Japanese have already succeeded in blocking the supply route to the important city of Imphal and are threatening to cut the Assam railway, the main communications link not only for General Stilwell's troops in North Burma but for American and Chinese forces in China itself. While the British appear confident that Imphal can be held, the complacent tone of General

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sir Claude Auchinleck's communiqué and statements remind us unpleasantly of similar communiqués issued at the time of the Burma disaster in 1942. The Allied armies are much stronger than they were two years ago and have much better air support, but the Japanese remain masters of jungle warfare. And it would be unwise to assume their inability to solve the supply problem. Luckily, the Japanese drive can hardly be regarded as of major strategic importance. It has become apparent in recent months that the United Nations are not depending on the reconquest of Burma to open a main supply line to China. That task is to be accomplished by sea power in a drive directly across the Pacific to the China coast. Such a drive, for which preparations are being made in the daily bombing of Truk and other Caroline objectives, would not only make the job of supplying China infinitely easier but also cut off the Japanese forces now operating in Burma and India.

*

THE SOVIET CHARGE THAT CHINESE TROOPS violated the border of Outer Mongolia in seeking to head off the normal seasonal migration of the nomadic Kazakhs has been denied in Chungking. But the Chinese version of the border clash between Chinese and Outer Mongolian troops differs only with respect to the location of the incident and the direction in which the Kazakhs were supposed to be traveling. The significance of the affair has little to do with the Kazakhs or, for that matter, with the Outer Mongolians. For the fact that such an incident could occur is a clear indication of growing friction between China and the Soviet Union over the vast border region that lies between them. The present difficulties started about the time of Stalingrad, when the Sinkiang governor, for reasons never adequately explained, suddenly switched his political orientation from Moscow to Chungking. Although the region was nominally under Chinese sovereignty, its economic alignment, for obvious geographic reasons, had long been with Russia, and it had been militarily and politically independent. About a year ago, following the governor's sudden shift, Chungking began to send troops into Sinkiang. The Russians countered not only by withdrawing their rather large delegation but by removing the small factories and other installations they had set up in the country, leaving Sinkiang in a rather desperate economic plight. This action was resented in Chungking, and relations between China and Russia have been tense ever since. Fortunately, other forces are operating to bring about better feeling between the two countries. The recent Soviet-Japanese agreement denying Tokyo use of oil from Sakhalin for the duration of the war will undoubtedly hasten the day of China's liberation, and should help to strengthen the bonds of the United Nations in the Far East.

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT BY ITS decision in the Texas primary case has outlawed for the third time in seventeen years devices used in that state to bar Negroes from the Democratic primaries. A 1927 decision forbade such exclusion by statute; a 1932 decision held it equally unconstitutional to bar Negroes by action of the State Executive Committee of the Democratic Party. In 1935, however, the court upheld exclusion by decision of the Democratic state convention. This decision has now been reversed, the court ruling through Justice Reed that "constitutional rights would be of little value if they could be thus indirectly denied." Of the 1935 court, only two members remain, Chief Justice Stone and Justice Roberts. The Chief Justice joined in the reversal. Justice Roberts was the lone dissenter. He objected that to reverse a decision only nine years old was to breed confusion in the law. It is ironical to recall that it was Justice Roberts's reversal on minimum-wage legislation in 1937—a reversal that took place in little more than nine months—which helped to defeat the President's court plan. Justice Roberts says this new reversal will create "fresh doubt . . . as to the stability of our institutions." Justice Roberts has himself to blame if some elements in the South read this as a reference to their favorite institution, "white supremacy."

*

THE RECENT RESOLUTION OF THE SOUTH Carolina House of Representatives reaffirming "our belief in and our allegiance to established white supremacy as now prevailing in the South" and demanding that "the damned agitators of the North leave the South alone" does not meet with the approval of all white South Carolinians. Twenty prominent professional and business people of the state, none of whom could be called radical, have issued a "Statement on the Race Problem in South Carolina," expressing a diametrically opposite point of view. The daily press, which gave such wide circulation to the House resolution, has generally ignored this statement. It lists seven specific ways in which Negroes are discriminated against, and makes a number of specific recommendations for improvement. For example: "Provision should be made for Negroes to serve on juries. Negroes should be allowed representation on boards which have to do with administering affairs that involve Negro citizens and their property; Negro policemen should be provided in Negro residential districts. We should enlarge our educational efforts for the Negro. . . ." On the question of Negro suffrage the statement is less explicit. It sees "no immediate solution." However, it goes on, "We do not believe that disfranchisement of all Negroes in South Carolina can endure indefinitely." The type of thought represented by the statement is not so rare in the South as is generally believed. One of the signers, in a private letter to a Negro

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

newspaper editor on the House resolution, said: "You may be sure that there are a large number of white people in the state who suffer from acts of this nature fully as much as Negroes suffer. Indeed, their humiliation is greater, because it is white people who have thus held up the state to scorn."

*

THE DECISION OF THE FORMER RIGHT WING of the American Labor Party in New York to form a new party in the state seems to us unrealistic and unfortunate. The only *raison d'etre* of such a party is its opposition to the left which won control of the A. L. P. in the recent primaries. Other issues do not exist since both factions were committed to a win-the-war program, support of the New Deal, and the reelection of Roosevelt and Wallace. The platform of the new party will consist of one plank: the A. L. P. is now run by Communists; Hillman is a Communist tool; therefore we must fight the A. L. P. The chief effect of such action will be to injure the C. I. O. Political Action Committee of which Hillman is chairman. The right wing knows as well as the left that almost the only hope of stimulating vigorous labor opposition to the reactionary swing in the country lies in the successful development of this committee on a national scale. Certainly there is no other independent organization of similar character in the field. For the right wingers to risk weakening it in order to build a back-fire against their left opponents in New York seems to us an irresponsible political act. Divisions in the labor and progressive movements are numerous enough without creating parties to foster and magnify them.

*

DR. GINA LOMBROSO FERRERO, WHO JUST died in Switzerland, was a living refutation of some of her own most ardent beliefs. She wrote books and many articles to prove that women were essentially non-intellectual and found happiness in domestic life rather than outside activities. But she was herself an intellectual if ever one breathed, and her close and happy home life never interfered with a distinguished career in several other directions. She had doctor's degrees in medicine and philosophy; she studied economics; she wrote numerous sociological studies and children's books. She lectured and traveled, and in recent years she directed a small publishing house which put out the writings of Italian anti-Fascist exiles. Her home in Geneva was filled with political refugees from every Axis-controlled country. Everything conspired to turn this philosophical anti-feminist into a practical feminist. She was a daughter of the famous Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso, and wife of Guglielmo Ferrero, the historian, and she worked closely with both men, sharing their intellectual life as well as developing her own. She was a woman who was driven into broad fields of human activity not by ambition or conviction but by her own generous impulses. Her energy and curiosity and a warm interest in life survived even the difficulties of exile and a succession of personal sorrows.

Lessons of Wisconsin

ONE does not have to be a Willkie partisan to admire the spirit of his fight for the Republican nomination or to feel profoundly depressed by the overwhelming defeat he has suffered. His foray into Wisconsin — the Bible Belt of isolationism — was a daring enterprise in which he neither gave nor asked for quarter. Single-handed he assailed his foes on both flanks: on the left the Administration, and particularly its foreign policy; on the right the masses of his fellow-Republicans who believe they can scull to victory with muffled oars.

Mr. Willkie's attacks on the President were often biting, but for the most part they remained on a high level. He refused to exploit issues like rationing or Selective Service in order to catch votes. Again and again he emphasized his belief that the Republicans would not win next November, or deserve to win, unless they developed a forthright and forward-looking program based on international cooperation. In regard to domestic policy he condemned the tendency of his party to hark back to the good old twenties and talked in terms of economic progressivism. In this field, however, his policies still lacked definition, and he tended to confine himself to soothing generalizations on such knotty problems as post-war employment, labor relations, and social security. But at least he always talked about real issues, treating his audiences as intelligent and earnest citizens who were seeking enlightenment and not cheap oratory or circus tricks.

It was magnificent, but apparently it was not politics. Mr. Willkie's meetings were large and often enthusiastic, but whatever converts he made, he convinced the professionals that he was not their man; and when the polling places opened, the machine went to work. That it had something solid to work on cannot be denied. The old Wisconsin spirit of isolationism, which led its Congressional delegation to vote unanimously against every measure of aid to Britain before Pearl Harbor, every step toward preparedness, is obviously very far from dead. Dewey and MacArthur, who by the nature of their following may be fairly identified in this contest as nationalist, together received far more votes than the internationalists Willkie and Stassen.

Governor Dewey's cagy policy appears to be paying big dividends. He has won the majority of the Wisconsin delegates not only without committing himself to anything but even after publicly disavowing their use of his name. The nature of his support in the Midwest will

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not prevent his sponsors from using the internationalist appeal in the East. He himself remains on the record as a non-candidate, under no obligations to take a stand on dangerous issues. But the machine he built up in 1940, and has assiduously nursed since, is hard at work playing up his vote-getting prowess and spreading the news that the Governor's coyness does not mean that he would prove unresponsive to a draft. In fact, his supporters are now talking of his choice at Chicago by acclamation.

The new situation, however, offers some opportunities for deals and maneuvers. Governor Bricker's friendly statement on Willkie's withdrawal suggests a hope of cashing in on resentment against Dewey and luring some Willkieites into his camp. Stassen's followers will also seek to pick up enough Willkie delegates to give their man at least a nuisance value. And General MacArthur's showing in Wisconsin was sufficiently impressive to encourage his champions to go ahead with plans to organize the extreme nationalist vote.

What are the lessons of Wisconsin for the Administration? I. F. Stone, in this week's Washington letter, reports a marked degree of pessimism among New Dealers and notes a tendency to accept Willkie's overthrow as proof of a reactionary mood in the country, to which the Administration itself must conform. Our own reading of the lessons suggests a different conclusion. It is that an unclear and undemocratic foreign policy undermines faith in the internationalism for which Mr. Roosevelt has hitherto stood and plays into the hands of the isolationists. As Mr. Willkie said at Omaha, the Administration "is promoting confusion, cynicism, and distrust among us" by not admitting the people to its confidence in regard to the political conduct of the war.

We hope, therefore, that the President will not act on the assumption that, with Mr. Willkie eliminated, the unattached progressive and internationalist vote is in the bag and proceed to concentrate on appeasing the reactionaries. In this game he can never compete with the Republicans. His hope of victory, rather, lies in a return to that vigor and clarity, in regard to both domestic and foreign policy, which marked his earlier years of office.

Civil Service Snoopers

IN ITS issues of July 17 and July 24, 1943, *The Nation* published two articles entitled Washington Gestapo, by an anonymous government official. Those articles told of the unfair methods used in investigations of government employees. When Representative Celler of New York called the articles to the attention of Harry B. Mitchell, president of the Civil Service Commission, Mitchell denied that such methods were used by his agency. "The whole tone of the *Nation* articles is false, and the basis is false," Mitchell assured Mr. Celler. Six months later the charges made in *The Nation* found support in an article by Henry F. Pringle, Snooping on The Potomac, in the *Saturday Evening Post* for January 15. Now *PM* has published a series of fully documented Civil Service Commission cases by our Washington editor, I. F. Stone. The facts disclosed in them make it impossible for Mitchell or anyone else to deny that the procedure used in determining the loyalty and fitness of federal employees is grossly unfair.

At the time we published the Washington Gestapo articles, the only evidence available was the little that could be elicited in confidence from frightened employees and angry executives. No independent and formal inquiries into charges brought against government employees had been made by responsible agencies. This is no longer the case. Mr. Stone has made public the contents of two reports turned in on February 1 last by a three-man investigating board at the Foreign Economic Administration. This board was set up after the Civil Service Commission had ordered the discharge of two government employees, a man and his wife, both persons of reputation in the academic world. These people had gone to Washington, after Pearl Harbor, at some personal sacrifice, on the request of a government agency and had been doing excellent work for eighteen months when their dismissal was demanded. Suspicion seems to have been aroused because the wife is the cousin of a writer for the *New Masses,* but the Civil Service Commission found no basis for charging them with subversion. They were, however, branded as grossly immoral on the word of a malicious neighbor actuated by anti-Negro and anti-Jewish prejudice. This was the conclusion of the FEA investigating board, and its findings forced the commission to reverse itself.

But in addition to its report on the case of Professor and Mrs. X, the FEA board drew up a separate report for submission to the Civil Service Commission. This report pointed out that under the present investigatory procedure, accused employees have none of the elementary safeguards traditional in Anglo-American law. They may not be represented by counsel or confront and cross-examine their accusers. They do not have the right to know just who their accusers are or to know exactly what the charge is. They may not see a transcript of the testimony against them. They are not given a bill of particulars. They are examined in star chamber on what the FEA investigating board called "a cat-and-mouse basis." They learn only by indirection what is held against them and never know whether a question is prompted by previous information or is merely a trap. The accusing witnesses are not sworn; they are not subject to perjury charges if they lie or to suit for slander if they circulate false and damaging gossip.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The FEA board recommended that accused employees be allowed to cross-examine witnesses against them, to have a bill of particulars before trial, to have counsel present during trial, and to argue their case in advance of final decision. Unfortunately Leo T. Crowley, head of the FEA, has refused to allow this report to be submitted to the Civil Service Commission for consideration, and he and some of his subordinates have done their best to suppress it. The commission itself, while admitting that a declaration of disloyalty or unfitness may be fully as damaging to an employee's reputation as a criminal conviction, falls back on an excuse common to the secret police of dictatorships. The commission says in effect that the protection of the government is the first consideration, that people would not give information against employees unless safeguarded by anonymity, and that the burden of proof is on the employee. The situation is made worse by the fact that so many of the commission's investigators seem to be political illiterates, the kind of people who often regard the New Deal as "communistic." Not a few of them exhibit anti-Negro and anti-Semitic prejudices. When people of this kind are given a free hand to collect the garbage of gossip and to examine employees in star chambers, no one need be surprised by the result. We think the time has come for a formal investigation by Congress of these Gestapo-like procedures.

Washington Blues

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 7

A FEW New Dealers have thought for some time that Mr. Roosevelt ought not to run for a fourth term. Their number has been increased by the defeat of Mr. Willkie in Wisconsin. The earlier argument against the fourth term was that Mr. Roosevelt, even if reelected, would probably have a Republican and certainly a more hostile Congress to contend with, and that he would be unable in those circumstances to solve the problems of demobilization.

It was argued that with Mr. Roosevelt in the White House, the ordinary voter would feel that the New Deal was in power, though virtually all key positions are already held by conservatives and the President is to a large extent their prisoner. Unemployment would be blamed on the New Deal, the reactionary trend intensified, and a liberal comeback long postponed. "The right is running the show," said one New Dealer back in uniform on a furlough from his post abroad. "Let them bear the responsibility."

This view assumes that there will be severe unemployment after the war, at least for some time—an assumption I share, since I see no evidence of any steps, private or public, that can insure anything like full employment. Others, who agree, are nevertheless all the more strongly for a fourth term, on the ground that Mr. Roosevelt's presence in the White House may provide some check in what may be a dangerously reactionary period. But those of the President's advisers who are thinking primarily in terms of international rather than domestic problems want Mr. Roosevelt reelected no matter what situation is likely to confront him at home. The more optimistic of these believe that Mr. Willkie's withdrawal increases Mr. Roosevelt's chances. Previously they had regarded Mr. Willkie as the one Republican who might take progressive votes away from the President on domestic issues while winning the support of conservatives who would accept Mr. Roosevelt rather than risk any relapse into isolationism.

What worries the President's political advisers now is not so much what happened in Wisconsin as its effect in New York. Had Mr. Willkie made a strong showing, he and Governor Dewey might have killed each other off in the convention. Mr. Willkie's withdrawal now seems to have assured the Dewey nomination, and with that New York appears to be more than doubtful territory. The nomination of New York's governor plus the ugly sectarian quarrel in New York's American Labor Party makes many people here fear that Governor Dewey can carry New York against Mr. Roosevelt. If he can, a fourth term is unlikely. Talk in Congressional Democratic circles of a Byrd-Farley ticket reflects this feeling, and the open desertions from the not too crowded fourth-term band-wagon are evidence of how strong doubt has become. It is unlikely that Mr. Roosevelt will risk the great prestige he might possess and the influence he might exert as an undefeated elder statesman if he thinks his chance of winning is slight.

But few people here have the temerity to count Mr. Roosevelt out already. Many things may happen. The course of events in Europe, the opening of a second front, and the measure of its military success, will all have their effect. The American people may be much less war-weary when they are actually fighting on a major scale than they are when millions of men are being drafted for little visible purpose. Mr. Roosevelt is no quitter. He has shown his fighting heart and buoyant courage under circumstances that would break most men. At home he has provided the leadership in, and given his name to, one of the great periods of American history. He is, from every indication, determined to do what he can to bring a more stable international order into being. He must have personal commitments to and from Churchill, Stalin, and Chiang Kai-shek that would be endangered by his defeat. He must be far more strongly aware than most of us of the threat to a permanent peace settlement were the four-power coalition to break up. Part of his strength lies in that very wiliness for which we assorted idealists, liberals, and leftists are most apt to criticize

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

him. The President may do things we shall find hard to justify in the next few months.

I admire and honor Mr. Willkie. It was a pleasure to hear and read the words of a man who said what he thought and proved that he was prepared to bear the consequences. But the consequences were serious. It was a pleasure that was also a luxury. Mr. Willkie demonstrated again that politics is no place for a man who chooses to speak plainly. It is only in times of extraordinary, imminent, and visible danger that he may hope to achieve leadership. I think the career of Mr. Churchill, a more conservative but no less outspoken personality, illustrates the same point; he was passed over for the mediocre and the equivocating until his country's great moment of peril, and in such a conjuncture Mr. Willkie may some day be called upon.

It is easy to oversimplify the results of the Wisconsin primaries. Wisconsin cannot be equated with the Midwest; many factors make it the worst possible place for a representative test of the general attitude toward foreign policy. The strong vote polled by former Governor Stassen of neighboring and equally Midwestern Minnesota, where both Stassen and Senator Ball are strongly pledged to international cooperation, indicates that Mr. Willkie's defeat was not simply an isolationist victory. But Mr. Willkie's failure, at this writing, to win even one pledged delegate indicates (1) on domestic issues, that even in Wisconsin, the home of progressive Republicanism, the liberal Republican and independent voters to whom Mr. Willkie thought he could appeal don't amount to very much; and (2) on foreign policy, that the active internationalist minority is far weaker than the active isolationist minority, while the inert mass in between doesn't feel deeply about the question—even so eloquent, attractive, and sincere a man as Mr. Willkie was unable sufficiently to move them. The result is not likely to lead Mr. Roosevelt to heed Mr. Willkie's advice and be more outspoken and clear in his foreign policy.

There Stands De Gaulle

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE diplomatic war between the President of the United States and the President of the French Committee of National Liberation has reached a new stage of crisis. Mr. Roosevelt has casually, even contemptuously, dismissed the claims of the committee to be accepted as the provisional government of France. General de Gaulle has asserted that claim in a series of vigorous speeches and administrative acts and has assured his fellow-countrymen that France "does not need to listen to what is said outside her frontiers regarding the manner in which she will establish liberty at home." The issue between the French and the American leaders is clearly joined, and not even the latest elucidation of American policy by Mr. Hull reached the underlying sources of conflict.

President Roosevelt's peculiarly virulent opposition to De Gaulle, which can only be compared to his bitter stubbornness on the Spanish issue, is one of those politico-psychological conditions that cannot be simply explained. But in anlayzing its twisted roots one factor must always be remembered—the influence and strategic position of Admiral Leahy. Champion and friend of Pétain, our last ambassador at Vichy is now the President's Chief of Staff. Leahy's job at Vichy was to try to induce the French puppet government, or certain elements in it, to favor the Allied cause. It was under Leahy that Murphy assumed the task of subverting Vichy officers and agents in North Africa. To the Admiral and his mission, indeed to American policy as a whole, the resistance of De Gaulle was more than a rebuke; it was a threat. Fighting France could not be an ally as long as American plans depended upon the connivance of Vichy. When De Gaulle slowly forced his way into the situation, he had to defend his precarious political beachheads in North Africa against the combined opposition of French fascists and British and American "liberators." (The British played a half-reluctant but useful role in this campaign.) De Gaulle won position after position, and he did it by demonstrating in every way open to him the solid backing of the whole resistance movement in France.

To this strategy American diplomacy has had no effective answer. Moreover, the United States could not openly oppose the will of the forces of resistance. In the hour of invasion they will be on our side; they stand for all we claim to be fighting for. The vigor with which they have rallied to De Gaulle; the rapid evolution of the Committee of Liberation from an uneasy union between two hostile factions to a full-fledged government representing all political tendencies; the rise and active participation in policy-making of the Consultative Assembly, peopled in large part with delegates from the various political groups inside France—all these factors have given De Gaulle a prestige and solid authority which is testified to by every correspondent in North Africa.

And De Gaulle himself has on the whole measured up to the demands of leadership. He has been firm in his dealings with his allies, flexible in his expanding relationship with the representatives of the people. He has steadfastly asserted what his followers want established beyond all doubt—the sovereign power of France. One has only to read De Gaulle's remarkable speech of March 18, a large part of which is reproduced in this issue, to get a sense of the assurance of the man and his grasp of the problems involved in France's rebirth as a nation. Many discussions of this speech have been published. Some have given the impression that De Gaulle was engaged in fighting his allies or demanding his rights in an angry or defiant mood. No such tone emerges from the text itself. De Gaulle recognizes and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

regrets the reluctance of the Allies to accept the Committee as the provisional government of France, but he proceeds calmly with his plans for carrying on the functions of government. He goes farther and suggests a closer relationship among the nations of Western Europe and offers to help lay the foundations for such a regional union. Nowhere does he argue or remonstrate. Perhaps his calm assurance is one of the qualities Mr. Roosevelt resents.

The President can no longer argue that De Gaulle stands alone, that he is a dictator, that Giraud is an equal factor, that military necessity dictates a different choice. Every argument has fallen away except one. The President still clings to the old formula of "self-determination." Like "neutrality" and "non-intervention" toward Republican Spain, our policy of "self-determination" for liberated France is a cover for a particularly nasty technique of enforcing our will. It is designed to play into the hands of every agent of reaction from the old Marshal to the unknown Darlan who may arise after the invasion to be "chosen" by Eisenhower as one of the authorities with whom the Allies will deal. How do we know, asks the President, what the people of France really want? Nobody from his office has been there for a long time and a lot has happened lately. The French people themselves, after they are freed and after the prisoners of war and deported workers come home, must decide on their government. Meanwhile the process of liberation may uncover new groups or new leaders who may deserve our support. General Eisenhower will have to decide with whom he can best deal; it is primarily a military matter rather than a political one. The assertion by Mr. Hull that the De Gaulle committee, while "of course not the government of France," will be encouraged to "exercise leadership to establish law and order under supervision of the Allied Commander-in-Chief" does not rule out the possibility that other elements may be similarly encouraged. Only recognition of the Committee of Liberation as the provisional government, which Hull explicitly refuses, would dissipate the uncertainty that breeds suspicion and demoralizing rumors.

Indeed, political speculations recently reached a point in Algiers which forced the State Department to deny openly that the United States intended to deal with the Vichy regime or with other collaborationist elements once the invasion begins. But even after this denial it was pointed out, and not only by interested Frenchmen, that the United States has other possible alternatives to De Gaulle hardly less detestable than Laval or Pétain.

There is, for example, the interesting case of Noguès. This able general fled from North Africa with American help and thus escaped the fate of Peyrouton, Boisson, and Bergeret, fellow-fascists who have been imprisoned by order of the Committee of Liberation. Noguès went to Portugal, and with him or before him went all the gold of the Bank of France in Morocco. He has gathered round him there a number of like-minded Frenchmen who were similarly able to duck out of North Africa or out of France. More than one observer on the spot has brought home disquieting stories of continued American relations with this astute and ambitious officer. And why should we not discuss plans and possibilities with Noguès? He is one of the men with whom we came to terms as soon as possible after our landing. He followed Darlan into the Allied camp and after Darlan's assassination helped select Giraud. He is one of our own collaborationists.

Might not Noguès, who has a considerable following in the upper officer ranks of the French army, be found useful when the Allied forces reach France? It is even whispered that he has been tentatively chosen as Premier in a new government which would include George Bonnet as Foreign Minister, Bergeret (presumably released from prison) as Minister of War, Lemaigre-Dubreuil as Finance Minister, and would find places for such other admirable non-Vichyites as De Monzie and Leroy-Ladurie. This government of appeasers, fascists, and financial corroborationists may be no more than the nightmare of an embittered Gaullist. It may, on the other hand, represent one of the possible plans that lie in the minds of some of the President's advisers. Certainly these persons are no more unsavory than those chosen when we moved into North Africa and Italy, and if we did not find the behavior of De Gaulle to our liking after we land in France, they might well be adopted as new Darlans and Girauds. The refusal to recognize the Committee of Liberation makes sense only if our policy-makers are in fact holding the door open for such deals in case expediency should make them seem desirable.

Friends of the President, persons who know that he represents the best remaining hope of a decent international policy, must feel doubly distressed that he should persist in an attitude so fatal to the influence and democratic standing of America in Europe. But even in a campaign year no good end can be served by pretending that a line of action is good when it is clearly dangerous. The only sensible course for progressive supporters of the Administration to take is to urge the President to free himself from the obsessions that have controlled his policy toward De Gaulle, to get rid of reactionary advisers like Leahy, and to accept the logic of his best and most generous announced aims.

Mr. Stettinius is in London "exploring" the political problems which confront the Allied powers. Britain is said to feel strongly that recognition of De Gaulle should not be delayed any longer. Perhaps Mr. Eden can convince our representative that the trailing remnants of America's Vichy policy must be abandoned before the Allied armies attempt to land on French soil. Not all the subverted traitors in France could compensate us in arms or influence for the hatred of the French underground and the enmity of its acknowledged leaders.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Russia in the Balkans

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

THE Russian armies are hurtling across the River Prut, ready to strike at the heart of Rumania. It seems probable, therefore, that it is the Russians—aided by the various national armies of liberation—who will bring about the collapse of German military strength in the Balkans, and not England and America, although the Western Allies are giving substantial assistance to the Partisans in Yugoslavia. Moreover, the great people's movements emerging from the chaos of Balkan politics have derived inspiration and courage from Russia's example and will reinforce Russia's influence on the peace.

Resistance to fascism in the northern Balkan states has been less articulate than among the Greeks and South Slavs. When Rumania fell to the Nazis, the king and his military clique submitted to all Hitler's demands and abandoned the wise foreign policy which had been formulated by Nicholas Titulescu. (Eduard Benes and Titulescu were the only statesmen in the Little Entente who understood that friendship with Russia could be of enduring value to Southeastern Europe.) No vigorous popular movement has developed in Rumania, although an underground certainly exists there and large numbers of Rumanians have joined Marshal Tito's Partisans.

The amount of resistance in Hungary is something of a mystery. Count Karolyi broadcast from London an appeal to Hungarians to join Tito's armies, and lately many have done so. The deep abyss between the ruling class and the masses of the people in both Hungary and Rumania has unquestionably heightened the significance of Russia for the masses. For them the Soviet government is the embodiment of the people's will, and when the present rulers of Hungary and Rumania go down, as they inevitably must, Russia's influence on the new political structure to be built will be profound.

The Bulgarians, like other Balkan peoples, have been frustrated by a foreign king, a military caste, and an aggressive bureaucracy, but they have made their will known. Strongly pro-Russian, they have organized an active resistance movement and outlined a concrete program of political action. Although Bulgaria is in the Axis camp, it maintains diplomatic relations with Russia; the Soviet legation is still in Sofia. It is possible that the government allows this incongruous situation to continue as a concession to the Bulgarian people and in the interest of domestic peace.

The main stream of Balkan energy flows of course from Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav National Army of Liberation has become a powerful instrument for the coordination of Balkan resistance and the unification of Balkan aspirations. Its growth is proof of the revolutionary character of this war, for it expresses not only the people's resistance to German domination, but their repudiation of the policy pursued by the Yugoslav government between the two wars.

An understanding of the political and military forces at work in Yugoslavia and throughout the Balkans will be furthered by a brief review of some recent political happenings in this storm center of the European continent.

Up to the end of 1940 Yugoslavia had not recognized the Soviet government, and only the constant pressure of democratic elements upon Prince Paul induced him finally to send an envoy to the Kremlin. Behind this intransigent anti-Soviet policy were the late King Alexander, Nicholas Pachich, leader of the Serbian Radical Party, and his successors, part of the Serbian Orthodox church, the Foreign Office, and the army officers, all of whom despised the Soviet system as much as they had respected the Czarist regime. For twenty-three years after the Revolution the old Czarist Ambassador, Baron Strandmann, remained in Belgrade as Russia's accredited representative. He was actually on the diplomatic list until 1940.

Strandmann was for years the most influential personality in Belgrade society and diplomatic circles. He lived in the old Russian legation, across the street from the royal palace, just as in former days when Russia considered itself the guardian of Serbian interests. He disposed of 30,000,000 dinars a year (approximately $600,000), provided partly by a special item in the Yugoslav budget and partly by the secret funds of the Foreign Office. This enormous sum of money was spent primarily for the dissemination of anti-Soviet propaganda in Yugoslavia and abroad.

Immediately after the Russian Revolution the Czarist General Wrangel established two military-cadet schools in Yugoslavia, where young White Russian exiles were instilled with rabidly anti-Soviet doctrines. The banners of General Wrangel's army waved ostentatiously in the center of Belgrade. These same White Russians have a strong grip on the puppet Belgrade government, and after the collapse of Yugoslavia an effective German fifth column, quite ready to cooperate with the Gestapo, was recruited from among them.

During the First World War, Frano Supilo, a Croa-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tian politician, visited St. Petersburg, the capital of Czarist Russia. The Russian Foreign Office, he learned, had no dossier on the Croats and Slovenes and no interest in the formation of a "Yugoslavia." It was concerned only with the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Macedonians, who could form a bulwark against the Austro-Hungarian Empire. When Supilo told Sazanov, Russia's Foreign Minister, of the growing feeling for a great Yugoslavia, Sazanov was reluctant to accept the idea. He had already signed the London pact, which militated against the vital interests of Croats and Slovenes and temporarily paralyzed the efforts of the South Slavs to achieve a united nation.

In 1924 the popular Croatian democratic leader Stefan Radich visited Moscow, the capital of Soviet Russia. He found a vastly changed attitude at the Foreign Ministry from the one Supilo had described. When Radich returned, he told his people—and his words have become a slogan—"With Russia we are something; without Russia nothing." Soon afterward Radich was arrested, and later killed, by the men who were preparing King Alexander's dictatorship under the influence of White Russian émigrés and other reactionaries.

Official relations between the Yugoslav government in exile and Soviet Russia have always been strained. The former has consistently followed the old pre-war line and has built up Mihailovich to lead the struggle against Russia. In 1942 Molotov proposed a friendship pact to the Yugoslav government in exile, but Foreign Minister Ninchich turned the offer down, actuated either by his belief in Hitler's victory or by his fear of Bolshevism.

After the Moscow and Teheran conferences it was clear that the Big Three recognized Tito's army as the real fighting force in Yugoslavia. Churchill virtually abandoned the Yugoslav government in exile. Bewildered and apprehensive, Prime Minister Purich turned to Russia. He offered a pact of friendship. He even thought of transferring the government from Cairo to Moscow. But any hope of obtaining support for King Peter's Cabinet from that quarter was blasted. The Soviet government reminded Dr. Purich that the question of a Soviet-Yugoslav pact had been raised during the spring of 1942: "The Yugoslav government, then located in London, did not give the pact the same importance that it seems to attach to it now." Dr. Purich's proposal was flatly rejected.

The Yugoslav people have been and are unalterably opposed to the policy of their government. They regard an alliance with Russia as a logical necessity for the Slavs in the Balkans, not as a mere expedient. The interest of the Soviet government in a united Slav nation was made clear to them by Radich. His words have been confirmed by the subsequent activities of the All-Slav committees in Moscow.

Recently the Yugoslav Ambassador to Russia, Stanoye Simich, severed his connections with the Purich government. Mr. Simich is an extremely capable young Serbian diplomat, an ardent anti-fascist, and a consistent supporter of the concept of Yugoslavia. He explained in a letter to Marshal Tito that his resignation was prompted by the refusal of the government in exile to organize "Yugoslav army units to fight on the Soviet-German front against the common enemy." A Yugoslav unit has now been equipped in Russia. It will fight under the flag of Marshal Tito and under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Mesich, who deserted from the army sent by the puppet Pavelich to aid the Germans on the eastern front.

The restoration of the Russian Orthodox church has done much to overcome distrust of Soviet Russia's attitude toward religion. The Partisans have deep respect for their bearded priests. There is, indeed, a saying in Yugoslavia today that "a beard is worth a brigade." Tito's Minister of the Interior is a Serbian Orthodox priest. Other church dignitaries have not only refused to condemn the Partisans but have joined their fighting forces.

Since the Yugoslav people found their leader in Marshal Tito, his army has become a rallying-point for all the democratic forces of the Balkans. On March 26 the Free Italian radio, Milano Libertà, announced that the general staff of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, the British, American, and Russian military missions, and representatives of the Rumanian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian liberation armies had held an important conference at Tito's headquarters. The aim of the meeting was to coordinate all liberation movements and their armies in the Balkans under Marshal Tito. The Greek resistance, under the inspiration of the left wing of the E. A. M.–E. L. A. S. group, has recently formed a provisional governing committee modeled after Marshal Tito's committee.

The old Balkans, with their oppressive ruling classes, their semi-legitimate monarchies, their unscrupulous politicians and ambitious generals, and their diplomats who permitted their countries to be used as tools by the great powers, are dying. All these elements became puppets of the Germans when their countries were invaded. Now they have accepted German occupation without a murmur, because it is their only bulwark against advancing Soviet armies and Soviet influence. But that bulwark is doomed. And the people, led by new leaders with a new understanding of the popular spirit, will make their will felt.

Dr. Benes said some days ago that Stalin was "definitely opposed to the imposition of communism upon the Balkan countries." The Balkan problem does not demand such a solution. The Balkan masses have seen how fragile

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was the structure of a world made up of small ultra-nationalistic states. They realize that their security lies in union, plus the friendly support of Soviet Russia. The Balkan peoples have come to understand that the dam which Europe built against Russia was an essential cause of their own collapse, as well as of the collapse of all pre-war Europe; they know that Europe cannot live in peace if that dam is rebuilt.

American economic support will be greatly needed throughout the region, and in making political decisions the Balkans will lean heavily upon the Allies. Thus a full understanding among Great Britain, the United States, and Russia—before the Balkans have been liberated—is of the utmost importance, not only for the Balkan peoples but for the general settlement of Europe when peace has come. After Italy, the Balkans will be the test of what the United Nations consider their mission in this war.

G. I. in India—II

THE lot of American soldiers in India who are stationed in or near large cities is quite different from that of men stuck away in remote valleys and jungle outposts. When it was reported that a Senatorial party touring India had spent an evening in Duration Den, the luxuriously appointed American Red Cross club in New Delhi, listening to the griping of the soldiers there, the news provoked derisive comments in this monsoon-washed valley. Men who had spent a year or more waiting for a ten-day furlough in Delhi or Calcutta—"sweating it out" they call it here—wondered "what the devil the 'hotel' soldiers had to complain about."

The life of "hotel" soldiers, most of whom live in barracks or tents, in India is not an extended lark, but neither is it especially difficult. My first six weeks in India were spent at a desert camp some fifteen miles from a fairly large city, and despite occasional sandstorms, heat which often hovered around 110, and swarms of evilly persistent flies, life was bearable. The city did not come up to an American's notions of cleanliness, but it offered a modern motion-picture theater, several good restaurants, and a variety of rather interesting shops.

An Indian-operated bus line ran between the camp and the city, and most of us went in three or four times a week. Indians are fatalists, or at least drive as if they were. One afternoon a friend and I hitched a ride on a bus carrying Indian laborers. It was ancient in a way no American jalopy, however rickety, ever is. The cab, in which we rode, was held together by old pieces of rope and a few casually placed nails, and all the gauges on the dashboard read zero. But it went down the road at an astonishing speed, passing camel caravans and other buses. Twice in passing it careened off the road on to the sand and almost turned over before it careened back again. After the second time the driver, apparently feeling that he owed us an explanation, smiled pleasantly and said, "Steering wheel loose, no brakes." I found myself silently remonstrating, "It's all right for you. As a Hindu you believe you'll be reincarnated. But what about us?"

People in Blank, which is as far as the censor will permit one to go in naming the city, were generally friendly. We had some misgivings at first, because "Quit India" was scrawled across almost every wall we saw. But this did not appear to be directed at us. They did not throw flowers into the streets when we rode by, but they were hospitable.

American influence was conspicuous in the shopping district. Goodyear and Kodak signs were frequent, and stocks of American goods, though they were pathetically small, were displayed proudly. In a crooked, unpaved lane I came across a furniture shop full of Grand Rapids "modern." When we went into shops which had American goods, the proprietor would point to them and say, "Theekhai," which, roughly spelled, is Hindustani for O.K. One grocery store had American canned goods, but the prices were fabulous—$2.10 for a 19-cent can of Libby's fruit juice, 90 cents for a 10-cent can of Heinz soup, $5 for a crock of cheese.

We had been told that our money would go three times as far in India as it did in the states, but we soon realized that we had been grossly misinformed. At least for American soldiers, nothing in Blank was cheap. This was partly because war shortages had boosted the price of articles we wanted, and partly because Indians believe all Americans have more money than they know what to do with. Beggars and vendors all over India invariably approach us with, "You rajah, me poor man." When I tell a shopkeeper that a price is more than I can afford, he is likely to smile condescendingly, as if to say, "What a quaint sense of humor you Americans have."

Bookshops were almost as plentiful as curio shops, but they had a curious collection of English books. In the city's largest bookstore I found a second-hand copy of a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Warwick Deeping novel, a brochure on animal husbandry, one on Basic English, the "Bhagavadgita," and Dale Carnegie's "How to Win Friends and Influence People." To Americans eager to learn all they could about the country this was disappointing. Several pamphlets by Indians introducing India to American troops were for sale, but they were largely devoted to the glories of India's past and were written almost exclusively in superlatives. Considerable literary traffic went on outside the shops. A newspaper hawker who came out to camp each day brought with him such selections as "The Escapades of Erotic Edna," "My Sins—Private Life of a College Girl," "True Confessions of an Indian Girl," and "The Hidden Side of Sexual Science."

The Anglo-Indian newspapers were our best source of information on contemporary Indian life. They had only four pages, but they contained a respectable amount of news and illuminating editorials. Once one ran a long editorial on Louis Fischer's articles in *The Nation* about the Cripps mission, and the next day reprinted from *The Nation* a piece by a Charles Williams on Harlem and the War. It gave me a strange feeling.

The favorite American hangouts in Blank were three "in-bounds" restaurants run by Chinese. There we could eat duck with ginger, chicken with pineapple, crab meat and melon soup, steak that was good though it did not remind us of home, and ice cream that did. Prices were lower than in other restaurants I have been in here, and one could dine very well for less than two dollars. The quantities of food we consumed surprised and amused the Chinese waiters. Another gathering place was the Manhattan Soda Fountain, where we could buy hamburgers on toasted English muffins and amazing banana splits, play "Star Dust" or "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" on a dilapidated music box, and become thoroughly homesick.

I had long social conversations with the shopkeepers, who occasionally offered tea even when it was plain that I was not going to buy anything. Many of them spoke apologetically of India's backwardness. One of them said in a way that showed he had said it many times before, "We are a hundred years behind, a hundred years behind." We had been told not to discuss politics in India, and Indians rarely introduced the subject, but one curio dealer spent the better part of an hour talking about India's sectional differences. He was a Hindu and he said, "Moslems are all right but hard in the head." Nehru, he thought, was a great man, and Gandhi he called the "uncrowned king of India." It struck me that Gandhi might see some irony in this description.

[*This is the third of a series of intermittent letters from a veteran contributor to* The Nation, *now a corporal in the army.*]

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE SWISS REFERENDUM appears to be having a "boom" in this country just now. In the legislatures of New York and New Jersey as well as Massachusetts bills are pending looking toward its incorporation in the state constitutions.—*April 5, 1894.*

THE WOMAN-SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT received further impetus last week in the passage by the Iowa legislature of a bill giving women the right to vote at municipal or school elections. . . . The movement has also made more headway in Massachusetts this year than ever before. . . . A bill which had passed the House by a large Republican majority was . . . defeated in the Senate through the Boston *Journal* and Henry Cabot Lodge, now the recognized machine manager of his party.—*April 12, 1894.*

ONE OF THE MOST extraordinary phenomena in the literary history of Germany is the hostility which is still manifested toward Heine, almost forty years after his death—an enmity based in about equal proportions on chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and the wrath naturally felt by Philistines toward men of genius. . . . The project of erecting a monument to Heine in his native city of Düsseldorf, a few years ago, met with so much opposition that it was dropped. Soon thereafter the committee took up Mainz as a suitable place, but nothing definite has been done as yet.—*April 19, 1894.*

THERE COULD HARDLY be a better illustration of the audacity, we were going to say depravity, of Senator Lodge's demagogy, than the phrase, "when not in contravention of any existing treaty," in his resolution in favor of putting discriminating duties on British products. . . . Lodge knows perfectly well that we are bound by the treaties of 1794 and of 1815 not to impose on British goods any duties which we do not impose on those of other nations. . . . The contributions of Massachusetts and Harvard College to federal politics during the past two years in the persons of Lodge and Quincy really seem like a freak of nature, and we respectfully call the attention of the Board of Overseers to the phenomenon.—*April 26, 1894.*

THE FIGHT BETWEEN Bragg and Naftel in Alabama, in a private room, in which Bragg was killed and Naftel dangerously wounded, arose out of Naftel's saying that Bragg at a meeting had not acted like a gentleman, by, in some manner, obstructing his view. It is unfortunate that Bragg should have thought it necessary to kill Naftel for this statement. But the criminal code of gentlemen at the South is one of appalling severity.—*April 26, 1894.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: Le Gallienne, Richard, "English Poems." . . . Wilde, Oscar, "Salome."—*April 5, 1894.* . . . Ibsen, Henrick, "Brand." Translated in the original meters. —*April 12, 1894.* . . . France, Anatole, "La Fille de Clémentine." . . . Hope, Anthony, "The Prisoner of Zenda." . . . Murray, J. A. H., "A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles." Last part of Vol. III.—*April 19, 1894.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Pan of Bones

BY LUCILLE B. MILNER

ON NEW YEAR'S EVE, 1939, Elmer Rogers, his wife, and his four-year-old son were brutally murdered in their home near Fort Towson, Oklahoma. Another son, eight years old, saved himself and his baby brother. The Rogerses were killed with a shotgun and mutilated with an ax; then the house was set afire, burning all three of them.

It was a hideous crime—the most revolting in the state's history—and the entire community was aroused. Soon several white prisoners from a nearby prison camp were arrested. This brought much unfavorable publicity about the Oklahoma state-prison system, and Warden Jesse Dunn* of the state penitentiary, put on the spot, went to Fort Towson to make an investigation. The Governor asked Vernon Cheatwood to report on the matter to him. Cheatwood had been the Governor's special investigator for seven years and had had a good deal of experience in obtaining confessions. Early in January the convicts who had been arrested for the crime were released, and a young Negro, W. D. Lyons, was arrested in Hugo, charged with the murders.

On the night of January 11 Lyons was visiting his mother-in-law and left her home to get some illegal whiskey hidden in the woods. On his way back he met Ennis Aikens. They saw several cars of police officers drive up to the house, and Lyons asked Aikens to go ask his wife "what the trouble was down there." When Lyons started for the house he was met by two men, Reasor Cain and Oscar Bearden, the former a special officer of the Frisco railroad. With drawn revolvers they seized him, bound his arms behind his back with his belt, and started to take him to the jail.

About three blocks from the jail Cain broke off a piece of one-inch board lying on the street and Bearden struck Lyons on the head with it. He also kicked Lyons and told him they were going to burn and kill him by degrees unless he confessed to the Rogers murders. When they reached the jail, Leonard Holmes, the jailor, greeted Lyons by striking him in the mouth with the jail keys.

Bearden told Holmes to "get some more officers and we'll drag him through 'colored town' and let the rest of the niggers learn a lesson." But Holmes could find no more officers at that time, and so they took Lyons to the top floor of the jail. There Deputy Sheriff Floyd Brown knocked him to the floor and kicked him in the stomach and ribs. Then they threw him into a cell. But not for long. After about five minutes, Lyons was taken downstairs to a small room adjoining the sheriff's office where were gathered the sheriff, two deputy sheriffs, the state ballistics expert, two highway patrolmen, and the Governor's special investigator, Vernon Cheatwood.

One of the officers made Lyons stand against a wall with his arms stretched above his head while another kicked the skin off his shins. Cheatwood kicked him in the stomach and blacked his eye. The sheriff called a halt in order to question Lyons for about thirty minutes, and then the beatings were resumed until the sheriff again stopped them and had Lyons taken to his cell.

One evening a week or so later, about dusk, Deputy Sheriff Brown and two highway patrolmen took Lyons from his cell to the office of the county prosecutor, a room about fourteen by sixteen. During the course of Lyons's examination from ten to twelve men were in this room. Lyons was handcuffed and placed in a chair; Vernon Cheatwood sat directly in front of him, less than a foot away, with a blackjack in his hand, his "nigger beater" he called it. During the questioning Cheatwood struck Lyons on the knees, hands, arms, and legs with the blackjack. "Every time he hit me with it," Lyons says, "something in it would rattle like buckshot." Every now and then Reasor Cain would strike Lyons with his fist, and "when he got tired the highway patrolmen would take it a while . . . and they beat me that way all night, yelling questions. . . . They would say, 'You killed those people, didn't you, you god-damned son-of-a-bitch; you're going to tell before we turn you loose!' " Now and then a highway patrolman would take Lyons from the chair and bend him across a table while Cheatwood would beat him on the back of the head with the blackjack. The father of Mrs. Rogers, E. O. Colclasure,* and her sister-in-law, Mrs. Vernon Colclasure, testified that Cheatwood boasted to them of what he had done.

At about 2:30 in the morning an officer brought in a pan of bones and placed it on Lyons's lap. "They said they was the bones of Mrs. Rogers, Mr. Rogers, and the baby," Lyons testified. (No attempt was made by the prosecution to explain how these bones were produced twenty-two days after the Rogerses were murdered.) "I never seen bones of a dead person before; I never seen dead people before, and I was afraid of those bones on my lap. Mr. Cheatwood would lay the bones in my hands—teeth bones and body bones—and make me hold

* On August 10, 1941, Warden Dunn was killed in a prison break by four long-term prisoners who held him as hostage and murdered him when his rescue was about to be effected.

* Since the trial Mr. Colclasure has been active in local interracial affairs and at present is chairman of the Fort Towson branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

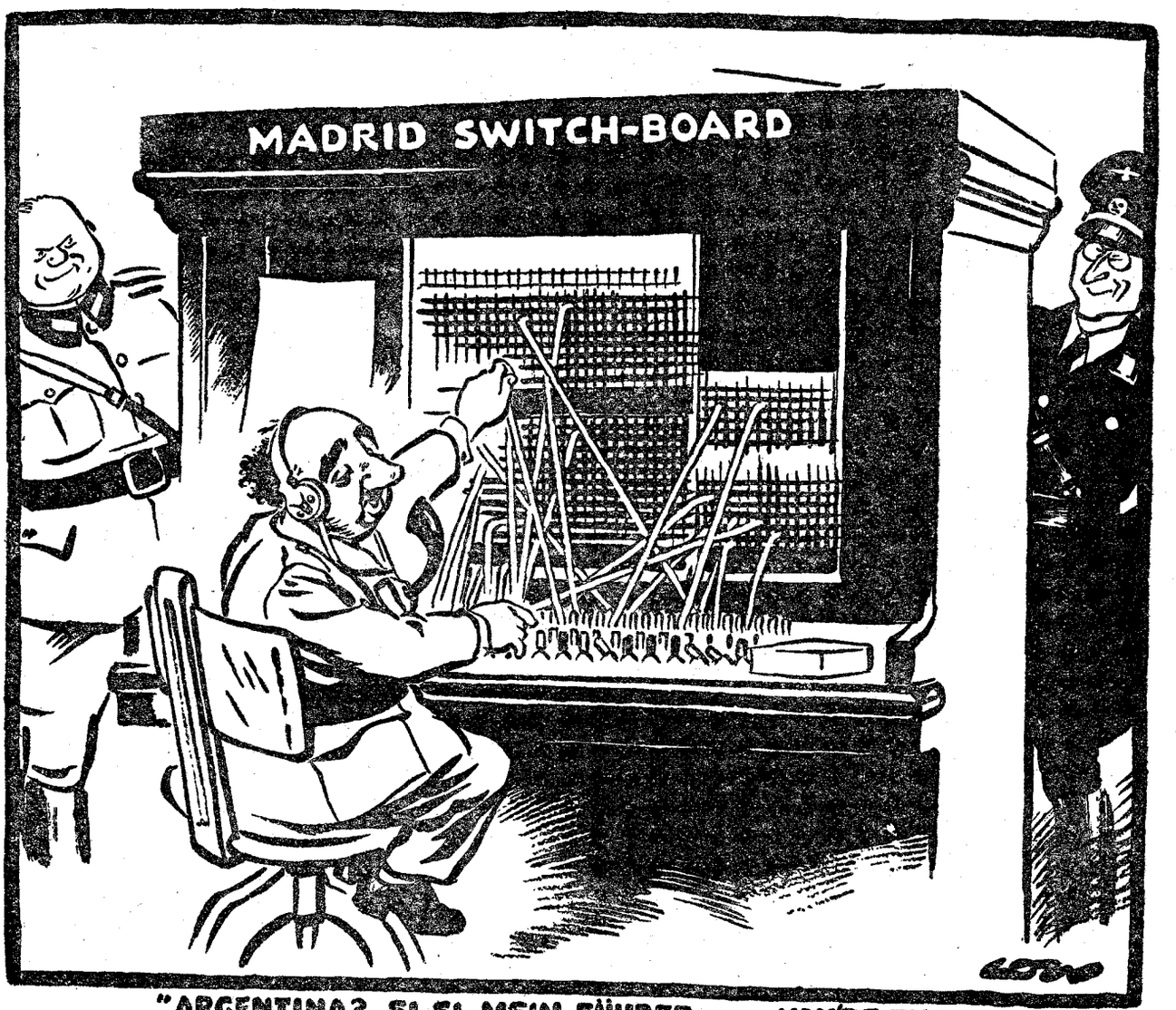
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them and look at them . . . he wouldn't let me turn my head away . . . and beat me on the legs and knees." Finally Lyons gave in and answered their questions. Even then he denied killing the Rogerses but later said yes: "I was forced to . . . I was beat with a blackjack and tortured all night, and I was afraid I would get some more torture."

This over, Lyons was lifted from the chair and led downstairs and over to the sheriff's office to wait while the officers ate their breakfast before taking him to the scene of the crime. There Lyons was again threatened with death. A fire was built and he was told that he would be burned unless he confessed that he had hidden the ax which was shown to him. For four hours this went on. At 8:30 Lyons, with one eye closed, his lip broken, and his nose bleeding, was taken back to jail. In the middle of the afternoon Cheatwood brought Lyons a paper to sign. When he asked what the paper was, he was told "never mind," and in utter desperation he signed. Later he was driven to the jail at Antlers.

At sundown Lyons was taken from the jail at Antlers and driven to the penitentiary at McAlester. On the way Deputy Sheriff Van Raulston continued to threaten him. "We ought to hang and bury him right here," the sheriff told his companions, explaining that they could tell the court Lyons had tried to escape. Lyons was taken at once to the Warden's office. "Is this the nigger who did the shooting?" Warden Dunn asked, and Deputy Sheriff Van Raulston replied that Lyons had "already admitted same in the confession in the jail house." When Warden Dunn questioned Lyons about the murders, Lyons said he knew nothing about them, and the deputy sheriff, with an "I'll make him talk," started beating Lyons. This continued for almost two hours. Lyons had been without sleep since Sunday—this was Tuesday. He had been without food the entire day and without water since early afternoon. He "couldn't stand no more"; so he answered their questions as he was instructed to answer them. A stenographer was called to take down the "confession," which Warden Dunn and Deputy Sheriff Van Raulston dictated in a low tone to the stenographer while Lyons nodded his head in assent. The "confession" signed, Lyons was placed in the death cell in the basement of the jail, about fifteen feet from the electric chair. There he spent the night.

While he was confined at the penitentiary awaiting a



"ARGENTINA? SI, SI, MEIN FÜHRER.....YOU'RE THROUGH"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

preliminary hearing, Lyons was threatened and beaten until he agreed to take the stand and admit his "guilt." The preliminary hearing was held at Hugo. Up to this time Lyons had had no lawyer. At the hearing two local attorneys appointed by the court to defend him refused to act and were excused, and the hearing proceeded without counsel for the defendant.

With the exception of the alleged confession, the only evidence against him produced by the state was testimony that Lyons was carrying a twelve-gauge shotgun wrapped in a newspaper in the colored section of Fort Towson on the day of the murder, that he had bought six No. 4 shells from the local store on the day of the murder, and that the Rogerses were killed with No. 4 shot from a twelve-gauge shotgun. Lyons admitted that he had borrowed a twelve-gauge shotgun on that day to go hunting with, that he had bought some shells, and that he carried the gun wrapped in a newspaper because he did not have a hunting license.

Lyons was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. The prosecution's entire case depended on the alleged confession made in the warden's office at McAlester, admitted over the objection of Lyons's counsel, which was provided by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The first "confession" was excluded from evidence, the court ruling that "the defendant might have been frightened into making [it] . . . by long hours of questioning and by placing bones of the purported bodies of the deceased persons in his lap during the questioning." The court admittedly was under the impression that several days had elapsed between the two confessions but did not withdraw the second confession from consideration by the jury when it was revealed that both confessions were made on the same day with virtually no rest for the prisoner in between.

An appeal to the Criminal Court of Appeals, taken in behalf of Lyons by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union as *amicus curiae,* on the ground that he had been denied due process of law guaranteed by the Constitution, resulted in a unanimous decision upholding the conviction. The United States Supreme Court has granted certiorari, and arguments will be heard during the last week of April.

The Supreme Court has repeatedly held that use of a confession obtained by force and violence is a violation of the Constitution. "The rack and torture chamber may not be substituted for the witness chair," the court declared only recently in reversing a conviction obtained in a similar case in Mississippi. A long line of court decisions has firmly established the principle that any confession made after one confession has been obtained by force and violence is likewise inadmissible unless the state can prove beyond a reasonable doubt that all the influences which forced the accused to confess previously had been completely removed. The Supreme Court has not yet passed on this point, but in a case which came before it recently (*Canty* v. *Alabama,* 309 U. S. 629) it granted the prisoner's petition for certiorari and reversed the conviction without even permitting the state to argue as to the merits. In that instance the prisoner was tortured in a police station at Montgomery, Alabama, then carried miles away to Kilby Prison, where, allegedly without force and in the presence of persons who were allegedly not at the earlier scene, the prisoner made a confession.

In the Wind

AN ESSAY CONTEST in Columbus, Ohio, on the general subject "What to Do with Adolf Hitler," was won by a sixteen-year-old Negro girl. Her idea, as reported by a religious magazine, is to put the Führer into a black skin and make him spend the rest of his life in America.

CATHOLICS in the diocese of Connecticut are forbidden to have anything to do with Russian War Relief.

THE OFFICES in *The Nation's* new quarters are marked with the letters of the alphabet. On moving day it was discovered that there was no office marked *M* between those marked *L* and *N*. *M* is the thirteenth letter.

ARMY ORDNANCE, headed by General L. H. Campbell, recently prepared a brochure asking for suggestions and distributed it to ordnance officers in the field and to production engineers. Fifty-six per cent of all the ideas submitted were found feasible.

ROBERT P. GERHOLZ, president of the National Association of Home Builders, was recently quoted in the *Daily Journal of Commerce*, Portland, Oregon, as saying that public housing is the builders' number-one fight after the war and the Federal Public Housing Authority their number-one opponent. "It's up to the private builder to see that the FPHA does not get a single appropriation with which to finance housing in the post-war period," he said. . . . "Public housing . . . makes for class segregation." This is news to West Coast shipyard workers living in public-housing developments.

FESTUNG EUROPA: When a Norwegian street car is crowded these days, the conductor cheers up the passengers by calling, "Withdraw according to plan to the rear of the car!" . . . Since the Nazis have deprived non-Nazi pastors in Norway of the right to perform marriages, 98 per cent of the marriages have been civil ceremonies, followed by a "church blessing" administered by a non-Nazi pastor.

[*The $5 prize for the best item received during March goes to James Loeb, Jr., for the story of the Dewey campaign slogan devised by the Union for Democratic Action, "Dewey or Don't He?" in the issue of March 11.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New France

BY CHARLES DE GAULLE

[*The following address was delivered by General de Gaulle on March 18 before the Consultative Assembly in Algiers. We believe that it expresses more clearly than any previous statement the attitude of the Committee of National Liberation toward the post-war problems of France.*—THE EDITOR.]

GENTLEMEN, whatever may be the date or speed of the liberation, the urgent problems which the government will then have to solve will be far-reaching and difficult, as the Assembly knows full well. The most important of these problems concern the pursuit of the war, side by side with the Allies; French participation in the elaboration and application of the European armistice conventions; the maintenance of public order and the establishment of a purged administration; the working of justice; the supply of currency and the payment of salaries; a labor policy and the organization of production; foreign exchange and communications; public health; the reestablishment of individual and union rights; freedom of the press and the regulation of information; the return of our prisoners and deported workers; the movements of refugees; and lastly material preparations for the great national consultation from which will emerge the Constituent National Assembly which will build the Fourth Republic. . . .

Although it is impossible to know exactly how the French people will be feeling and thinking, since this will depend on the many trials which they must still experience before they can breathe the air of freedom, we have judged that the preparation of general solutions should be vigorously undertaken despite the lack of means of investigation. Such constructive work is absolutely necessary and urgent, and your final decisions in these matters will be of the highest importance. Without wishing to influence the definite arrangements, which must be adopted as soon as possible, I should inform you what the government considers necessary, so that the conception of these arrangements today and their application tomorrow may fulfil the conditions.

First, nothing can be done without order. Order is an imperious necessity for any accomplishment in the situation in which our country will be placed by the battles on its soil, the enemy's retreat, the many kinds of destruction suffered, the collapse of the present system of oppression. Consequently, and I say so with emphasis, there can be no other public authority than that which proceeds from the responsible central power. Any attempt to maintain in part or in camouflaged form the Vichy organization or any artificially created authority outside the present government would be intolerable and to be condemned in advance. As soon as local authorities are designated by the French Committee of National Liberation, citizens will be duty bound to conform strictly to the instructions of these authorities, without prejudice of course to the role which will be played by advisory organizations provided by our committees of liberation, pending the constitution of local assemblies as foreseen. Woe to him who acts against national unity!

We must admit that the exceedingly difficult economic conditions into which France will be plunged in the initial period of reconstruction will exclude any rapid improvement in matters of supply and distribution. It is painful to have to tell a nation which has greatly suffered that the landing of French and Allied forces will not immediately bring comfortable conditions. But it is the government's duty to take the strict measures relative to rationing, prices, exchange, and credit which will enable everyone to receive an equal share of the necessaries of life. As production increases, as food and raw materials arrive from foreign countries or overseas France in accordance with plans on which the government is at present collaborating with competent international organizations, and as interior and exterior communications are reestablished, this situation will improve. But we must realize that the improvement will be slow. . . .

Having set up this initial distribution system, the government intends to stimulate, by every possible means, agricultural production and industrial reconstruction. Obviously, however, it will not tolerate coalitions of interests, private monopolies, or trusts, whose existence at the beginning of this new period would imperil the economic and social reforms desired by the great majority of Frenchmen, reforms which are to be decided on by nationally elected representatives. In pursuance of these same ends, wealth obtained in the midst of general privation, particularly wealth gained by activities directly benefiting the enemy, will be quite simply taken away. The new France recognizes fair profit as useful, but will consider illicit any concentration of business which might throw the state's economic and social policy out of gear and dictate the condition of men.

The government will not wait until all France is freed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the enemy before taking action to insure the nation's existence and to restore the laws of the Republic. As the armies of liberation advance, the task of reconstruction will begin. It is obvious that if the government is to function in zones where fighting is going on there must be cooperation between the Allied military command and the local authorities designated by the government. For such cooperation to be easy and efficient, arrangements for it must have been made in advance by the French Committee of National Liberation and our American and British allies. The government, for its part, has made the necessary arrangements and has informed Washington and London of its plans. It has also decided how it will proceed with the administration of territories that gradually come under its jurisdiction. These decisions and projected arrangements represent our determination to furnish the armies on our territory with all the facilities they will need for the conduct of operations on which the destiny of the world depends and in which French troops from outside and inside France will participate in every way possible.

At this point we come to what makes the foreign relations of France so difficult at present. While the government must defend abroad the rights and interests of the country, rights and interests that extend to all parts of the world and into the future, the conditions under which it functions do not permit it, in relation to the other great powers, to have a hearing proportionate to its sacred obligations. As a result France has comparatively little part in the discussion of certain political and strategic questions presented by the war—a fact of which the nation and its friends are profoundly conscious. This is a practical issue, whose solution cannot be postponed. The government's policy in this matter is to try to make itself heard and understood, despite many obstacles, by bringing the greatest possible cooperation to the common effort, and to remain entirely uncommitted on the position of France with respect to questions which concern her if attempts are made to settle them without consulting her. At the same time the government intends to insure, by its attitude and its patient vigilance, that this transitory state of affairs shall not change the fundamental and indispensable friendship of the French people for the great Allied nations. . . .

THE ROLE OF FRANCE IN EUROPE

Europe knows what it is worth to mankind and is confident of emerging from its sufferings enlightened by its trials and able to undertake constructive work, material, intellectual, and moral, for the reorganization of the world. It is eminently capable of this, once it has crushed the major cause of its tragedies and divisions—the frenzied might of Prussianized Germany. The action, the influence, in a word, the value of France will then become necessary to Europe, to guide it and to help it to renew relations with the world. The government, while carrying on the fight, has prepared by its attitude and policy for the European role which France will play tomorrow to the advantage of all.

In order that the Continent, when it is made over, may arrive at a balance corresponding to modern conditions, it would seem that certain groupings of nations should be formed, without, of course, any encroachment on the sovereignty of the various states. We believe that it would be advantageous for France to become part of some Western European group, formed primarily on an economic basis and as inclusive as possible. Such a group of nations, if it were extended to Africa and had close relations with the Near East, particularly with the Arab states, which are legitimately seeking to unite their interests—with the Channel, the Rhine, and the Mediterranean serving it as arteries—could constitute an important unit in the organization of production, exchange, and security throughout the world. Like all the projects for the near future, this must be prepared beforehand. The French government is willing to begin right now, together with the other states concerned, to study all the plans and negotiations that will be necessary.

THE NEW FRENCH STATE

The task of the provisional government of the Republic will come to an end when national sovereignty has been reestablished. From that moment, our institutions, disrupted by the unforeseen circumstances of the invasion, will resume their legitimate functioning; and the de facto powers which we have assumed in order to direct the nation's war effort and insure the liberation of the sovereign, or rather the captive, French people will be relinquished as having accomplished their purpose.

The permanent form of French society is not within the competence of the Consultative Assembly to decide, for it cannot proceed with free, direct, and general elections under sufficient conditions of national stability. But if events force France to wait before deciding such matters for herself, a great deal is taking place in the minds of the French people. Rising above their sorrows, they are looking toward the future. In what they say and what they think there is apparent a common tendency which already enables us to distinguish the main lines that our restoration will follow.

Our people want a democracy that will have a new machinery and, particularly, new politics. To conform to their wishes, the new regime must be based on national representation, with all the men and women of France participating in the elections. But the legislative procedure must be vastly different from that which finally paralyzed the Third Republic. As to the government to which this national representation will intrust executive authority, it should be invested with all the power and stability which are necessary to the authority of the state and to France's greatness in the world. The French democracy, however, must insure to everyone

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the right to work and guarantee the dignity and security of all through an economic system planned with a view to developing our national resources and not to furthering private interests. In this system the great sources of national wealth will belong to the nation, and the direction and control of this wealth by the state will be undertaken with the assistance of workers and entrepreneurs. Lastly, it must be made possible for high intellectual and moral elements . . . to cooperate directly with the administration.

This political, social, and economic regime will certainly be completed by assuring, within the French community of peoples, the future of those whose fate is bound to that of France. Lastly, this French system will work in harmony with every other nation cooperating within an international setup so arranged that, in a world where henceforth independence will be law, each nation can develop along its own lines, without having to bear political or economic oppression. . . .

The Pucheu Trial

BY A FRENCHMAN

Algiers, March 27

THE Pucheu trial is over. What was its political significance? Let us briefly recall the essential facts. A former student at the Ecole Normale Supérieure who left education for the world of heavy industry, Pierre Pucheu entered the Pétain government in 1941, serving first as Minister of Industrial Production, then, very soon, as Minister of the Interior. An active, intelligent, and bold man, the political friend of Doriot, he left the government when Laval returned to power and in November, 1942, fled to Spain, where he received General Giraud's permission to come to North Africa. From the very beginning of Pucheu's negotiations with Giraud, General de Gaulle demanded that the ex-Minister, together with Peyrouton, Boisson, and others, be eliminated.

Pucheu was charged with collaboration with the enemy, with responsibility for the persecutions carried on by his ministry, and, in particular, with the creation by him and his colleagues of a special tribunal which condemned patriots to the guillotine. The court overlooked his part in the designation of hostages to be shot by the Germans but produced from the *Journal Officiel* enough orders bearing his signature to establish to its satisfaction his treasonable relations with the enemy. The five judges—two magistrates and three generals—condemned him; General de Gaulle refused to pardon him.

Politically, this verdict is significant for several reasons. First of all, it means that Algiers refuses to absolve treason, even two-faced treason. It is probable that Pucheu did play a double game. His conversations with one of the civilian heads of the Resistance in 1941, while he was still minister, his relations, after his resignation, with various generals known to be hostile to the Germans, and his flight from the Gestapo in November, 1942, lead one to believe that although he was completely loyal to Pétain at first, he remained so later on only so far as internal affairs were concerned—in the matter of the *révolution nationale* and the destruction of democracy; he seems to have wanted to betray the Germans, whose fate he realized was sealed. In the eyes of the men of Algiers, however, these two attitudes cannot be separated: to betray the Republic and to adopt the terroristic methods of the enemy constitute for them just as abominable a crime as to serve Germany against France and its allies. Such is the first significance of a verdict that will ring ominously in the ears of Pétain's ministers and former ministers.

Secondly, the verdict will give great encouragement to the Resistance movement in France. Martyred by Pucheu, the Resistance bore him a fierce hatred. It will be strengthened by knowing that punishment will be meted out to Vichy's hangmen. Any other verdict would have engendered in France a wave of discouragement and perhaps of despair. This is the conviction of the great majority of the representatives of the Resistance movement who are now in Algiers.

Thirdly, the verdict shows that the political influence of Giraud has now, in the eyes of all, virtually disappeared. Although Giraud had encouraged Pucheu to cross the Mediterranean, he did not save him from the firing squad. Moreover, of the five men who designated Giraud as the successor of Darlan, three—Bergeret, Boisson, and Peyrouton—are in prison, and the other two—Nogués and Chatel—have fled to Portugal. Between the country and the men of Vichy an impassable chasm has opened. The role of Giraud in the Pucheu drama is one sign of it. Backed by the people of France, De Gaulle alone has strength. The Allies will be obliged to recognize this.

From an international point of view, the Pucheu trial might better, perhaps, have been postponed, or at least limited to secondary counts punishable by imprisonment, leaving the more serious charges until after the liberation of France. Some fairly influential Frenchmen were of this opinion; they were not heard. This, however, is a delicate subject, one in which the whole question of the independence of the French nation is involved, a question to which Frenchmen are legitimately most sensitive. It is therefore best merely to mention this aspect of the problem without going into it.

Let us remember in conclusion that Pucheu, traitor in the eyes of the France that resists but traitor also in the eyes of Vichy, defended himself forcefully, sometimes even dominating the proceedings, and died with a bravery to which his most bitter enemies paid tribute.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

ABSTRACT ART

BY CLEMENT GREENBERG

THE full significance of the revolution in Western painting during the last sixty years will not become apparent for some time. But that part of its meaning which concerns the concrete medium itself is already plain. It is only necessary to put it in historical perpective.

The previous great revolution in Western painting led from the hieratic flatness of Gothic and Byzantine to the three-dimensionality of the Renaissance. Its stimulus was a fresh awareness of space provoked by expanding economic and social relations in the late Middle Ages and by the growing conviction that man's chief mission on earth is the conquest of his environment. The immediate problem in painting was to fit the new perception of depth and volume into the flatness of the picture surface; the less obvious though more difficult and crucial problem was to synthesize depth, volume, and surface in both dramatic and decorative unity. Within the conservative format of the wall painting Giotto created a synthesis which, through simplification of shapes and surfaces and the exclusion of small detail, made his murals hieratic and decorative, yet at the same time dramatic and three-dimensional. The profane appetite for the round was disciplined, volumes were inflated at low pressure to acknowledge the flatness of the wall, and the background was pushed no deeper than the back-drop on a stage.

The Sienese a little later arrived at perhaps an even more conservative synthesis in the altar piece and easel picture. Sassetta subordinated three-dimensionality to decorative principles borrowed from the Gothic or Oriental miniature. The format of his "Journey of the Magi"—in the recent Griggs bequest to the Metropolitan—is surprisingly small: the spectator has to get close enough to *read* it. Against a neutral-toned background in low relief, color is picked out in a staccato pattern of flat notes by forms handled with a slight attempt at volume. The drawing is fairly correct, but the claims of correctness are not allowed to interfere with the decorative function of line. For the moment Sassetta's art has arrested the transition, having found a style in which the artist is fairly sure of saying exactly what he wants to. This contrasts with the insecure style of another fifteenth-century Sienese, Giovanni di Paolo, in his "Presentation in the Temple" (in the Blumenthal bequest to the Metropolitan), where the old tradition of the Gothic and Oriental miniature is shown in outright conflict with the new one of naturalism. The flat, shallow, but richly detailed architectural background does not provide room for the figures in the foreground; the sculptural modeling of their garments bulges from the picture surface and creates an effect of overcrowding. In his figures Giovanni has explored the illusion of the third dimension farther than Giotto, but since his background is even more strictly two-dimensional, he has failed to attain either structural or decorative unity.

With the aid of the flexible medium of oil, the conflict between three-dimensional form and the plane surface was resolved finally by the annihilation of the second. The Italian or Flemish painter of the fifteenth century managed so to immerse himself in the illusion of the third dimension that he instinctively conceived of his canvas as a transparent rather than an opaque surface. Yet some of the difficulty of controlling the emphasis on volumes still remained. There was a tendency to insist simultaneously on the brilliance of surface which oil permitted and on highly sculptural modeling, a combination often too rich. But the Quattrocento was preoccupied with techniques and the accumulation of data: its painters preferred, for instance, to portray old people because their faces offered more details to the brush. They had not yet reached that point of repletion at which there is a readiness to sacrifice and simplify for the sake of large effects.

It was only toward the close of the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth that Verrocchio, Leonardo, Perugino, Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, and Titian perfected means of consistently achieving structural, tonal, and decorative unity in three-dimensional painting. These were—aside from scientific perspective, which could disorganize as well as organize a picture—the indication and ordering of the illusion of vacant three-dimensional space which forms interrupt (Raphael), the subordination of local color to a dominant tone or key, and the patterning of shade and light. It was necessary to believe enough in the illusion of depth to organize elements within the illusion and at the same time to suspend the illusion sufficiently to see them as the flat forms they are in physical reality. But the tendency was to forget almost all about the last, and thus there was a loss involved here as well as a gain. Post-Renaissance painting sacrificed too many of the qualities intrinsic to its medium. Pictures were organized too exclusively on the basis of the illusionist effect and with too little reference to the physical conditions of the art.

The nineteenth century began to dissolve the facts and make obsolete the general conceptions under which illusionist art had functioned. It came to be realized that the earth could no longer afford to Western man, or his economy, indefinite space in which to expand; that verified facts were the only certainties; that each of the activities of culture could be exercised with assurance only within its own province and only when that province had been strictly defined. The age of specialization and of limited intellectual and spiritual objectives sets in—after Hegel, for instance, philosophers stopped constructing world systems.

And with Manet and Courbet Western painting reversed its direction. Impressionism pushed the faithful reproduction of nature so far that representational painting was turned inside out. Incited by a positivism borrowed from science, the impressionists made the discovery—stated more clearly in their art than in their theories—that the most direct interpretation of visual experience must be two-dimensional. The new medium of photography helped provide evidence for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that. Sensations of a third dimension are not given by sight *qua* sight but by acquired associations with the experience of movement and touch. The data of sight, taken most literally, are nothing but colors. Notice, therefore, how a flatness begins to creep into impressionist paintings, how close to the surface they stay, in spite of "atmospheric perspective," and how openly the physical nature of the canvas and of the paint on it is confessed—by way, too, of emphasizing the difference between painting and photography.

The successors to impressionism have made all this more explicit. Painting, become anti-idealist, has surrendered itself once more to the literal plane surface. Correctness of drawing, black-and-white chiaroscuro, three-dimensional light effects, atmospheric and linear perspective, etc., etc., have been progressively, though not consistently, eliminated. The uniformly smooth and transparent surface behind which the picture used to take place has been made the actual locus of the picture instead of its window pane. To acknowledge the brute flatness of the surface on which he was trying to create a new and less deceptive illusion of the third dimension, Cézanne broke up the objects he depicted into multiplicities of planes that were as closely parallel as possible to the canvas's surface; and to show recession, the planes were stepped back with comparative abruptness—even the receding edges of objects keep turning full-face to the spectator like courtiers leaving the presence of royalty. Furthermore, Cézanne's parallel, roughly rectangular touches of the brush echo the outline of the canvas. And it was the new realization of the importance of every physical factor that also compelled the distortions of his drawing, and of Van Gogh's and Gauguin's—determined just as much by the tensions between the frame of the picture and the forms within it as by expressive compulsions. There were still other ways in which the physical nature of the medium and the materialism of art were asserted: pigment was sometimes applied so thinly that the canvas showed through, or it was piled in such impastos that the picture became almost a kind of relief. (There was a paradox in the fact that both Van Gogh and Gauguin were trying to rescue painting from the materialism into which they accused the impressionists of having sunk it.)

The *Fauves*, early in the first decade of this century, constructed pictures with flat, high-keyed color which was arbitrary in any representational sense and more or less dissociated from contour. Cubism, parodying by exaggeration the traditional methods of rendering volume and light in a despairing effort to restore the third dimension by Cézanne's method, finished by annihilating the third dimension; resulted in paintings that were completely flat—and thus accomplished the counter-revolution in principle. Picasso, Braque, Gris, and the others through whose art cubism evolved refused to accept its ultimate conclusions, and once they had arrived at pictures from which the identities of objects had disappeared, they did an about-face and returned to representation; other artists, however, later on accepted in full the logic of cubism and become outright abstractionists, resigning themselves to the non-representational and the inviolability, more or less, of the plane surface. With a speed that still seems amazing one of the most epochal transformations in the history of art was accomplished.

The deeper meaning of this transformation is that in a period in which illusions of every kind are being destroyed the illusionist methods of art must also be renounced. The taste most closely attuned to contemporary art has become positivist, even as the best philosophical and political intelligence of the time. Fiction, under which illusionist art can be subsumed, is no longer able to provide the intensest aesthetic experience. Poetry is lyric and "pure"; the serious novel has become either confession or highly abstract, as with Joyce and Stein; architecture subordinates itself to function and the construction engineer; music has abandoned the program. Let painting confine itself to the disposition pure and simple of color and line, and not intrigue us by associations with things we can experience more authentically elsewhere. The painter may go on playing with illusion, but only for the sake of satire. If he finds the limited depth of the plane surface too confining, let him become a sculptor—as Arp, originally a painter, has done.

But even as a sculptor the artist can no longer imitate nature. There is nothing left in nature for plastic art to explore. The techniques of art founded on the conventions of representation have exhausted their capacity to reveal fresh aspects of exterior reality in such a way as to provide the highest pleasure. But the trouble lies also with exterior reality itself. Byzantine art was abstract in tendency because it subordinated exterior reality to a dogma, regardless of whether that reality confirmed the dogma. In any case reality was not appearance. Naturalist art submits itself to appearance; if any dogma is involved it flows from appearance, and appearance is assumed to be the true and the real. Today we know that the question what a corporeal object is can be answered in many different ways, depending on the context, and that appearance is only one context among many, and perhaps one of the less important ones. To give the appearance of an object or a scene at a single moment in time is to shut out reference to too many of the other contexts in which it simultaneously exists. (And have not science and industry dissolved the concept of the entity into the concept of a process?) Instead of being aroused, the modern imagination is numbed by visual representation. Unable to represent the exterior world suggestively enough, pictorial art is driven to express as directly as possible only what goes on inside the self—or at most the ineluctable *modes* by which that which is outside the self is perceived (Mondrian).

Painting approaches the condition of music, which according to Aristotle is the most direct and hence the most subjective means of expression, having least to do with the representation of exterior reality. The gain that helps cancel the loss entailed by the restriction of painting and sculpture to the subjective lies in the necessity that painting become, in compensation, all the more sensitive, subtle, and various, and at the same time more disciplined and objectivized by its physical medium.

Art is under no categorical imperative to correspond point by point to the underlying tendencies of its age. Artists will do whatever they can get away with, and what they can get away with is not to be determined beforehand. Good landscapes, still lifes, and torsos will still be turned out. Yet it seems to me—and the conclusion is forced by observation not by preference—that the most ambitious and effective pictorial art of these times is abstract or goes in that direction.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Plain Talk About China

SHARK'S FINS AND MILLET. By Ilona Ralf Sues. Little Brown and Company. $3.

SPEAKING of fights: 'way back in late 1940, before the great Japanese blizzard, a bunch of American marines had a fight with a bunch of Italian marines. The fight took place in a White Russian dance hall on Blood Alley in the French concession in Shanghai, next door to one of the many hop joints. Just as the fight was at its best, with beer bottles flying, an American marine grabbed an Italian marine, dragged him to the piano, and ran his face up and down the keyboard, rubbing off all the Fascist glamour.

In this book about China Miss Sues has rubbed all the glamour off the face of the ruling clique of our Far Eastern ally. Needless to say, in all such fights all kinds of people get hit, some deservedly and some less so, and even innocent bystanders are not safe. Many people are going to be furious with Miss Sues, and they may even hire someone to write a reply, just as they once hired her and other Occidentals.

Miss Sues is a Polish woman, speaking many languages, who worked for seven years in Geneva for the Anti-Opium Bureau of the League of Nations. She could do a good book on that subject, but only one section of this one is devoted to her disillusionment. When the Japanese occupied Manchuria and later when Italy occupied Abyssinia, the League looked the other way and instead of doing something effective against the aggressors started a Committee for the Protection of the Whale.

Miss Sues could not stomach this, and eventually she took her cat and her typewriter and went off to China, which she believed to be an enigma, yet on the whole noble. She began by trying to chase down facts about opium but found herself chased down by one Tu Yueh-seng, opium king of China, whom the Generalissimo of all the Chinas had appointed chief "opium-suppression" officer; in previous years Mr. Tu was also chief "Communist-suppression" agent of Shanghai and did the bloody job so well that he controlled labor and sent his own henchmen to Geneva to sit on the Labor Bureau of the League. Miss Sues thinks she got the better of Mr. Tu in her interview with him—but no one ever got the better of the double-barreled Al Capone of China. His disciple, Mr. Chu Hsueh-fang, who represented Chinese labor at Geneva, will also represent it at the coming International Labor Conference in Philadelphia.

Miss Sues sat near one of the seats of the mighty, turning out publicity for China, a job to which she was appointed by Madame Chiang, who in turn did what the Australian, W. H. Donald, "advised" her to do. Miss Sues admires Donald still, but she calls him the "Richelieu of China" because, she says, he controlled Madame Chiang and, through her, much that the Generalissimo thought and did. Donald's ambition was to make Madame Chiang the "First Lady of the World," and Miss Sues thinks he achieved a great deal, inducing her to turn slightly democratic and to modify her Wellesley view of life. Madame Chiang, she says, was a mixture of many things, but within her own four walls she was a "selfish, petty, capricious prima donna." Many of the things that appeared in print under her name were written by Donald, Miss Sues, and a number of other Occidentals, including missionaries. The Chinese masses, so Miss Sues declares, judged the three Soong sisters in the following terms: "One loves wealth, one loves China, and one loves glory." It was Madame Sun Yat-sen who loved China. However, this graphic phrase most surely came from student sources, not from the masses.

Intent on getting the scalps of the ruling clique, Miss Sues makes many statements against men who were really victims of the clique. But others deserve what they get, on the whole, for many of them drew salaries merely by virtue of their Kuomintang membership, while one would endure every indignity as long as he could eat his way through life. Miss Sues makes liberal use of satire to prove her points.

When it comes to the revolutionary movement, Miss Sues is on insecure ground, for she had but little time to know it. She was one of a group of five foreigners who made a short tour to the Eighth Route Army and the Communist headquarters in the northwest. Her interview with Mao Tze-tung, the Communist leader, is excellently, even brilliantly done, but she makes herself appear ridiculous as she stands in trembling awe before Mao with her gift, a tin of cigarettes, pressed to her heart.

This section of the book contains many small factual inaccuracies. For example, the children known as "little devils" in the Eighth Route Army did not fight in battle and were not the terror of the Japanese; some romantic student perhaps told Miss Sues this tale. Her admiration for the American "volunteer" fliers in 1938 is beyond my comprehension, for they were mercenaries who would bomb anything they were paid to bomb. Also, while Dr. Robert Lim, director of the Chinese Red Cross Medical Corps, met ceaseless and bitter opposition, still he and I were not condemned wholesale for trying to "pamper coolies" (soldiers) by making first-aid kits. Dr. F. C. Yen did not oppose us but helped us. Nevertheless, the general braying and baying that went on against Dr. Lim was sufficient to give Miss Sues the impression that every man's hand was turned against his work. I come out well in this book. Miss Sues generously records my strong points, forgetting my weaknesses; but I am a little surprised at some of the words attributed to me.

Miss Sues states that, had weather conditions not been unfavorable, General Ho Ying-ching, Minister of War, would have bombed Sian in December, 1936, and perhaps killed Generalissimo Chiang, who was a prisoner there. As one who was in Sian, I must state that the weather was excellent. Planes brought the Red Army leaders to the city, General Ho's planes reconnoitered over the city, his bombers bombed nearby towns, and a plane came and went from Nanking; and eventually the Generalissimo and his party were flown out.

So there are many sides to this picture of China. Miss Sues defends the democratic side, and rightly, but her reasoning is so disjointed that one finishes the book still not knowing what she really believes in. She gives a picture of one part of China—a part that has its counterpart in America, England, Italy, and elsewhere. The world is now small and very, very round, as a friend of mine is wont to say.

AGNES SMEDLEY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The South and the Negro

RACE AND RUMORS OF RACE: CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN CRISIS. By Howard W. Odum. The University of North Carolina Press. $2.

PROFESSOR ODUM has set down in a very readable manner—one might even say entertaining were it not for the often tragic implications—the various rumors which were circulating in the South during the latter half of 1942 and the first six months of 1943 concerning the Negro's attempt to escape from his traditional status. These rumors are presented against the economic and cultural background of the South and the social changes which have been accelerated by World War II. In order to understand why they were believed, the author holds, it is necessary to understand the Southern credo in regard to the Negro. The twenty-one items in the Southern credo, as the author states it, amount to the belief that the Negro is not human and must be kept in an inferior position. This explains, for example, why kindly and generous Christian Southern whites can resort to "cold-hearted torture of Negroes" and even burn them. The behavior and the demands of the new generation of Negro youths, who are better educated than their parents, are a threat to everything that the South holds sacred. As a result there is a crisis in race relations involving three militant fronts—the Negroes, the North, and the white South. The North figures because of its influence on the thinking of Negroes and its attitude toward the Negro problem.

The catalogue of rumors is divided into four groups. The first comprises stories of attempts on the part of Negroes to get out of "their place." Many of these rumors grew out of the fact that Negro women were escaping from the servitude of poorly paid domestic service. The most celebrated were those concerning the organization and activities of the Eleanor Clubs, whose slogan was nearly always a variation of "a white woman in every kitchen by 1943." Because of the importance of the Eleanor Clubs, the author devotes a special chapter to the folklore that grew up around the name of Mrs. Roosevelt. This folklore was often so disgraceful that the author is moved to state that the South forgot its tradition of chivalry and good manners toward women. The second group of rumors consisted of "stories of Negroes taking over white women" or having the "bold intention to achieve the hated 'social equality.'" The author feels that rumors in this class were so widespread and readily believed because of the dormant heritage of fear of Negro men among white women. However, to the reviewer it appears that they were also related to a sense of guilt on the part of white men, who have had access to Negro women while white women have been taboo to the Negro man. In many cases Negro men were reported to have told white men in uniform or about to be drafted that they would "take care of the women." The third group has to do with preparations for revolt, including the widespread rumor that Negroes were buying up ice picks. Other rumors were difficult to classify; some appeared to have been planted for the purpose of sabotage. For example, it may surprise many readers to learn that there was a rumor current that "when Hitler takes over" the Negroes would gain their rightful place in America. Negro children were reported to be singing to the tune of "America":

> My country's tired of me,
> I'm going to Germany
> Where I belong.

As one might expect, there were similar rumors concerning the Negro's expectations in the event of a Japanese victory.

The third part of the book, which deals chiefly with The Way Out and The Way On, is likely to prove disappointing to the reader. Professor Odum presents the statement of Southern Negro leaders at the Durham conference, which was followed by a sympathetic reply by white leaders assembled in Atlanta. The latter conference came out for the "legitimate aspirations of the Negro," which included civil rights and a fair share in educational facilities and social services. Then follows a long list of questions—literally over a hundred—to which an answer must be found if race relations in the South are to be improved. Heeding the author's caution that this is not the time to call names and blame individuals, the reviewer does not hold him altogether responsible for the indefiniteness and inadequacy of this section of the book. Professor Odum, like most Southern liberals, is in the same dilemma in which the South finds itself. Therefore, unlike Northern liberals, he must always emphasize his loyalty to the region in which he lives. This results in occasional confusion in an otherwise clear analysis of the situation. For example, in appraising the "rightness" of the three groups, he freely admits that the Negro is "most right" because he has Christian ethics and democratic principles on his side; and that the North is second "most right." But when he comes to the South he first admits that the South is "least" right or "wrong" and then goes into a long explanation to the effect that the South is "right" in that it reflects "its natural evolutionary pattern," possesses state rights, and has been subject to certain cultural conditioning. One might remind Professor Odum that Nazi youth has been "culturally conditioned" to exterminate inferior races and that Germany is probably reflecting "its natural evolutionary pattern," but that in a world which is struggling to create a single moral order the behavior of the South as well as other political entities must be judged by accepted ethical standards and political principles. Evidently Professor Odum shares this opinion, for toward the end of his book he asks whether the South can experience the "conviction of sin" and "surrender" its stubborn heart.

In view of Professor Odum's sympathetic presentation of the outlook and aspirations of Negro youth and his excellent analysis of racial rumors in relation to Southern society, one would be inclined to overlook certain inconsistencies if they were not bound up with the central problem of the Negro in the American community. Professor Odum is no "isolationist" in respect to the place of the South in the nation; he is, nevertheless, opposed to what he calls "outside agitation." In view of his presentation of the Southern credo, one would like to know whether he thinks that the national government should allow the South to continue to rob Negroes of their proper share of educational funds and of the various social services and subsidies which are financed by the national government. However much the Southern lib-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eral may deprecate "outside agitation," he cannot deny that he must still look to the outside for support of his position. If he does not openly accept this support, he must at least offer an alternative program. This was implied in a recent editorial by Virginius Dabney, who in advocating the abolition of Jim Crow transportation in Virginia stated that the white South had to determine whether the leadership of Negroes was to rest in Atlanta or in New York City.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

With Straw

BRICKER OF OHIO. By Karl B. Pauly. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.

GOVERNOR JOHN W. BRICKER was born in a log house, went to a little red schoolhouse, made the senior honorary society at Ohio State University, was a chaplain during the last war, and likes baseball, hunting, and fishing. As a high-school orator and college debater, he opposed the direct election of Senators and government ownership of telephone and telegraph systems and favored compulsory military training.

He has spent his adult years playing politics the traditional way—joining lodges, going to county fairs, making speeches, and shaking hands. As a public official he has whittled expenses, turned a deficit into a surplus, had feuds with "bureaucrats," fought centralization of authority, and given Ohio the sort of government that satisfies the Republican business moguls.

He has never been to Europe or manifested much interest in foreign affairs. He is for "an international cooperative organization" but against any "central world authority." His ideas about the next peace are—as Mark Sullivan said of Warren G. Harding's speech accepting the Republican nomination in 1920—"clearly vague."

These facts stand out in the campaign biography of Governor Bricker written by his friend Karl B. Pauly, a reporter for the *Ohio State Journal.* The same things could be said of dozens of rural American politicians. But this "detailed information" is presented as the basis of Governor Bricker's plea for the next Republican Presidential nomination.

The book is painful reading, but it should be read thoughtfully. For it reveals what mediocre and provincial, though honest, leadership some Republicans propose to give our country in the midst of global bloodshed. Mr. Pauly damns his hero with such irrelevant and picayune praise that people aware of the world's plight will lay his book down thinking they'd as soon vote for Mickey Mouse as for Bricker for the Presidency this fall.

VOLTA TORREY

Fiction in Review

REVIEWING Eduardo Mallea's "The Bay of Silence" (Knopf, $2.50) in the *New Yorker* of March 18, Edmund Wilson brings to our notice the important fact that in translation this novel by one of Argentina's foremost writers has been cut by some hundred thousand words. Although it is of course unforgivable if this alteration was made without Mr. Mallea's permission, I am afraid I cannot go along with Mr. Wilson in the generous assumption that it is ruthless cutting which makes the difference between a successful novel and a "puzzling" and "unsatisfying" one. It is annoying in the extreme to be given a book in which characters disappear while they hold, as it were, the center of the stage, but ignoring the gaps in the narrative and judging "The Bay of Silence" by the 339 pages we are given, or any one of them, it is my guess that Mr. Mallea's novel might have been twice as frustrating rather than twice as rewarding if it had been twice as long. That is, while I agree with Mr. Wilson that Mr. Mallea's book "has a tinge of distinction," I find persistent evidence of an inherent vagueness of thought which can scarcely be blamed on either translation or editing; I recall a similar puzzling quality in "Fiesta in November," the novelette which is Mr. Mallea's only other work to have been translated into English. There is little question that Mr. Mallea is a sophisticated, well-educated, and sensitive writer—one intuitively appreciates his intention—but he seems to me always to be hinting around what he has to say instead of coming right out with it.

This amorphousness or indirection or inconsequentiality—whatever one might call it—is most apparent in the political discussions that make up such an important part of "The Bay of Silence." Mr. Mallea's hero-protagonist—the story is told in the first person—is an Argentinian writer who passionately loves his country and devotes himself to finding the way in which Argentina can throw off both its corrupt native leaders and corrupting foreign influences and assert its best strength; in his twenties the young man hopes to achieve this goal through a left-wing magazine called *Enough;* in his thirties, somewhat wearied but still hopeful, he puts his political energies into his fiction. But from the dozens of conversations between Mr. Mallea's protagonist and his friends, and from the endless thought-passages of the writer himself, we grasp only the vaguest general political directions, never the distinct line of political purpose or argument. The people in "The Bay of Silence" are very well-informed, but they always seem to speak at a tangent to clear sense. For example, when a newcomer to *Enough* wishes to write some articles for the magazine on the theory of the coup d'état, Mr. Mallet sets forth his subject for him in the following words: "He wanted to comment on Curzio Malaparte, to go back to the days of the Florentine Republic and attempt an interpretation of Dante Alighieri" —surely an odd, muddled, and pretentious enterprise but one which the author does not present as odd, muddled, or pretentious. This is simply the way in which people speak and think in his novel.

This style of thought, by the way, is not peculiar to Mr. Mallea among contemporary writers who concern themselves with the political scene, and that is another reason why I cannot blame the vagueness of "The Bay of Silence" on its editing or translation. I have come across this same inability to grasp the political point, to enunciate it clearly and develop it logically, in any number of modern European novels. It is what makes Aldanov's "The Fifth Seal," in its non-satiric sections, read like an allegory to which we have never been given the key; it is persistent in Jules Romains —my head would swim if I tried to give a redaction of the political soliloquy in the first chapter of the latest volume

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of "Men of Good Will"; it is part of what makes one so angry with Ilya Ehrenbourg's "The Fall of Paris" or Hans Habe's "Katharine." Indeed, this weakness appears to be so endemic among contemporary novels which deal with social-political issues that it would be tempting to look for an explanation in the times or issues themselves. But the fact is that American and English novels of the same order, whatever their other faults, seem never to suffer from this one. At least in their fiction, writers of the two English-speaking countries seem to be able to speak to the point, if not always to the right point—an observation I throw out at full risk, I know, of being accused of Anglo-Saxon chauvinism.

"Dangling Man," by Saul Bellow (Vanguard, $2.50), in both length and conception resembles an extended story rather than a novel. It is the diary of a young man who has been classified 1-A, has given up his job and made all his preparations for going into the army, and then waits month after month for his induction; it is the exploration, that is, of the strange period in a young man's life when he has given up his normal habits and responsibilities but has not yet had his new habits formed for him, or his responsibilities taken over for him, by an outside agency. Thrown back on his own resources, Mr. Bellow's dangling man finds that he has no resources, he has only exacerbated nerves; the raw emptiness which he faces reflects the raw emptiness of contemporary life.

Mr. Bellow is talented and clever and he writes with control and precision. But "Dangling Man" is not the kind of novel I like. I find myself deeply opposed to novels of sterility—or, rather, to small novels of sterility. It is not that I think fiction should be blind to the badness or even the horror of certain aspects of modern life or that it should refuse to despair; it is, simply, that I demand of pessimism, more than of affirmation, that it have a certain grandeur. I have never understood why it necessarily follows from the loss of political hope—and it is at the core of the unhappiness of Mr. Bellow's young man that he is a disillusioned radical—that one must see human nature as robbed of drama and variety and even the physical world as non-dimensional. Art is a wonderful bootstrap by which to raise life above this mean level.

DIANA TRILLING

✚ RED CROSS plasma is saving the lives of hundreds of wounded soldiers and sailors. But thousands of additional blood donors are needed. Give a pint of blood to save a life.

BALLET

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE APRIL 9—MAY 7
S. HUROK'S Fabulous Season of
RUSSIAN BALLET
by the BALLET THEATRE
MARKOVA • DOLIN • GOLLNER
EGLEVSKY • CHASE • KAYE
LAING • TUDOR • PETROFF
featuring Agnes de Mille's "TALLY-HO"; Argentinita's "AMOR BRUJO"; Jerome Robbins' "FANCY FREE"—and 31 Other Ballets
SEATS NOW AT BOX OFFICE 2000 SEATS 71c-$1.50 PLUS TAX

STAGE PLAYS

THE THEATRE GUILD presents (In association with Jack H. Skirball)
JACOBOWSKY and the COLONEL
The FRANZ WERFEL - S. N. BEHRMAN COMEDY — Staged by ELIA KAZAN
LOUIS CALHERN—ANNABELLA—OSCAR KARLWEIS
J. EDWARD BROMBERG
MARTIN BECK THEATRE — 45th St., West of 8th Avenue
Evgs. at 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

MICHAEL TODD presents
BOBBY CLARK in
MEXICAN HAYRIDE
by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
SONGS BY COLE PORTER
WINTER GARDEN, B'way & 50th St. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

"A definite hit . . . gay, glib, daffy — enormously funny."
—Morehouse, Sun.
RUTH GORDON
IN THE NEW COMEDY HIT
OVER TWENTY-ONE
MUSIC BOX, 45th St. W. of B'way. CI 6-4636—Evs. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

DON'T MISS
The Nation's Spring Book Number Coming Next Week

Important articles . . . "The Time of the Assassins," by Louis Bogan; "Anatole France," by Albert Guerard; Important reviews . . . "The First Lady Chatterley," by Diana Trilling; "The Loom of Language," by George Genzmer; other reviews of books and the arts by C. Hartley Grattan, Babette Deutsch, Volta Torrey, Margaret Marshall, B. H. Haggin and others.

Newsstand copies of *The Nation* are limited in number. Reserve your copy of the April 22 issue *now*.

THE Nation
20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK CITY 7

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DRAMA

ZOE AKINS'S newest play is an American cousin of the fiction of Evelyn Waugh; and like the proverbial American cousin, "Mrs. January and Mr. X" (Belasco Theater) is more awkward and less polished than its English relative. But it has a vitality of its own; it is not an imitation. After the fashion of Waugh, Miss Akins has invented a fantastic situation peopled by fantastic characters. Likewise, the fantasy is tethered to reality by an invisible thread, and it is the jerks of the thread that give the piece point.

Mrs. January is a fabulously rich and silly and pretty woman who has come, with a full complement of servants, to live in one half of a two-family house at forty dollars a month so that she will be prepared for the communism that is just around the corner—she's a Communist herself. The other half of the house is occupied by the owner, who is an ex-President (he's an amalgam of Coolidge and Hoover).

There is a good deal of wit in the writing. Billie Burke and Frank Craven are perfectly cast as the principal characters, and they know their trade so well that it is a pleasure to watch them plying it. But only up to a point. For somewhere along the way Miss Akins runs out of breath. Her balloon bounces along the ground instead of riding the skies—and Miss Burke's voice gets monotonous. In a word, "Mrs. January and Mr. X" doesn't come off, but I hope Miss Akins will persist in this folly.

"Only the Heart" (Bijou Theater) might have been news in, say, 1922. It's pretty dated now. Because of the part she plays, June Walker seems a little dated too, but Eleanor Anton, who makes her debut on Broadway, is charming.

I've seen nothing lower than "Chicken Every Sunday" (Henry Miller's Theater) as far as bad taste goes—except the audience that applauded it.

MARGARET MARSHALL

ART

AS Bonnard and Vuillard show, there were possibilities in impressionism which the nineteenth century failed to exhaust. Some of the last of these have been capitalized by Arnold Friedman in his most recent landscapes, in which, after years of working in a neo-Ingresque vein, the artist has discovered himself as an impressionist. His current show (at the Marquié Gallery through April 15) demonstrates that something can still be said with atmospheric envelopes, complementary colors, and optical mixtures. In Friedman's successful pictures vibrating color surfaces move toward and away from each other like incidents in a well-told story. In his unsuccessful paintings there is that tendency to monotony and excessive naivete which has always been a liability of the impressionist method: there is a failure to emphasize, accent, modulate: only paint quality and texture are offered, while the compositional elements cancel each other by their equivalence. This is particularly true in the still lifes, which are too evenly focused, and in some of the landscapes, where the approach is frontal and four-square. But when the artist can rely on atmospheric interference to select and unify he produces paintings which dramatize art as well as nature. One such picture, "Approach to Town," in small format, points out a path beyond impressionism which Friedman should follow farther: abandoning broken tones and crusty impastos for the orchestration of facets of flat color. By and large Friedman's painting is praiseworthy for its honesty, for its renunciation of tricks and stunts—it is obvious that he has the equipment to paint as fashionably as anyone on the market, but it is also obvious that he has character.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

FILMS

"MEMPHIS BELLE" is the story of one bomber's twenty-fifth mission over Germany. You realize, as you watch it, that if the crew survives, it will be retired from combat service. What this means to the men of the crew, to those whose survival will not mean retirement, and to those who are not flying that day is so unobstreperously clear in the faces of all of them that I could not guess which shots were reenacted and which were straight records. This same vigorous and pitiful sense of the presence, danger, skill, and hope of several human beings so pervades the flying, flak, bombing, and fighting scenes that not even one of the dozen or so superhuman shots allows you to feel that either it or you are there for the view. Everything is seen, done, and experienced as if from inside one or another of the men in the plane. Color and the sudden amazements of the air help to create this immediacy, but so do the very experienced, vigilant photography, the even better cutting, and a general good taste which knows better than to use any rhetoric of image, word, or sound in dealing with such facts. "With the Marines at Tarawa" shudders like a new wound, and is as terrible to see. "Memphis Belle" does not have that kind of power or sensitiveness. But of its very different kind of war process, at once more aloof and more intimate, it seems as good a record. Taken together, the films are documentaries with which for the first time we can look the English in the eye.

The man in over-all charge of making this good film was William Wyler, whose talent I respected in "Wuthering Heights" and even in "Mrs. Miniver," without caring for the pictures. Post-war planners should work out a better fate for him than going back to Hollywood.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

BEETHOVEN'S Septet Opus 20 is a work for which Toscanini has great affection; but no matter how well it has been performed in its original form he has found the four strings insufficient to achieve proper balance with the three winds; and he has therefore performed it with a greater number of strings. There have been a couple of broadcast performances with the N. B. C. Symphony; and recently there was one with the Philadelphia Orchestra at a Pension Foundation concert in Philadelphia. The balance between strings and winds was perfect; and even with the increased number of strings the textures and proportions remained those of chamber music. The few performances I had heard of the Septet in its original form had left me with the impression of it as a work in the same class as the inconsequential Piano Quartet Opus 16; and I still have that impression of the first movement. But the theme and variations and the minuet which follow are—at any rate in the forms of living sound that Toscanini gives them—as lovely and charming as any of the best of Beethoven's early music.

At this Philadelphia concert the performance of Beethoven's "Leonore" Overture No. 2 also increased my awareness—which began when I heard Toscanini's performance of it with the New York Philharmonic in 1942—of the qualities which are presumably the reasons why on these two occasions he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has played this work rather than No. 3. No. 2 employs the same musical ideas as No. 3; it works them into a structure which parallels that of No. 3; and the generally held notion of it is that of a sort of imperfect version of the final perfected achievement of No. 3. For many years I listened to it with that notion in my head, and therefore heard nothing to contradict it; but in 1942 I heard for the first time what made me realize that this was a different work, and in its own different ways as wonderful a work as No. 3. I haven't the score to refer to; but I can cite as one instance of what I mean the last measures of the slow introduction that lead to the first theme of the *Allegro*—the single line of sound of the string basses, a line that is prolonged, and that reaching the point where it seemed to be going rises unexpectedly beyond this point to delay what is coming, to increase the suspense in anticipation of its arrival, and to increase its effect when it does at last enter.

Also on the program was the "Pastoral" Symphony, which Toscanini played shortly afterward with the N. B. C. Symphony in a General Motors broadcast. The two performances were close enough to make noticeable interesting differences between the two superb orchestras. For one thing, a few differences in personnel. The N. B. C. solo flute and oboe are very good; nevertheless when they finished the imitations of bird-calls at the end of the second movement my companion whispered: "What silly music!"; but the way this passage was inflected by Kincaid and Tabuteau in Philadelphia made it one of the most exciting things in the work. And in the Philadelphia performance the second movement was not marred by coarse, insensitive phrases of the solo clarinet, as it was in the N. B. C. performance. In the playing of the N. B. C. Symphony as a whole, moreover, one heard a youthful, almost nervous vitality; in the playing of the Philadelphia Orchestra a quietly assured mellowness and other qualities that come with years of working together.

In the years since Stokowski's departure I have wondered—remembering the Philharmonic after Toscanini's departure—how the Philadelphia has managed to remain a great orchestra. The only clue has been its evident alertness and eagerness and pride when it used to play under Stokowski and on the recent occasions when I have heard it play under Toscanini; and I have concluded that it is *esprit de corps* and pride in its great past that have enabled it to keep itself at a high level in the present. But this is a matter on which no one can speak with the knowledge and understanding of the man who has himself played in orchestras; and I have at last received from such a person—a young man now in the army who played in college orchestras and in the National Orchestral Association and watched the Philadelphia Orchestra in action—an authoritative explanation of what I have wondered about.

The personnel of the Philadelphia, he writes, has remained largely intact, retaining a backbone, in its woodwind and brass sections, of "some of the greatest artists in the world on their respective instruments, and masters of ensemble playing," who set the pace; and "the strings are nothing but fine." In each section, moreover, the men play with the man who taught them at the Curtis Institute ("Torello and all his students from Curtis make a terrific bass section"); when a new man is needed a new Curtis graduate comes in—another great technician with solid musicianship." And at Curtis the men not only studied their instruments but were trained in ensemble performance by the great oboist who sits in the center of the orchestra and who has much to do with its playing like "just one big string quartet." In other words, the orchestra is composed of musicians who "seem to feel the same way about the music all together," and therefore it "pulls together." Nor did my informant fail to give credit for all this to the one who created it: the men of the orchestra "were brought up under the convictions of Stokowski in his better days; and they stick by them."

And here I might add that when I recommended Winthrop Sargeant's article in *Life* it was for his description of Toscanini's way of working with an orchestra, written out of the knowledge and understanding that Sargeant acquired from playing in an orchestra with Toscanini; and that some other details in the article caused this column's raised eyebrows department to raise its eyebrows. The statement, for example, that Toscanini refines most of the vigor out of Brahms would cause me to suspect that Sargeant, after leaving the Philharmonic in 1930, did not hear much more of Toscanini's playing of Brahms, and therefore did not hear the performances that had been swift and sinuous acquire the breadth and weight and power they have had for years now.

B. H. HAGGIN

FIRST AID TO BUSY PEOPLE

EXECUTIVES • TEACHERS
WRITERS • SPEAKERS
STUDENTS • CLERGYMEN
LAWYERS • LIBRARIANS
PUBLIC OFFICIALS, ETC.

To keep you well-informed and up-to-date, you need

FACTS-ON-FILE
World News Digest

Would you like to condense 100 hours of weekly reading into 30 minutes, without missing a single important fact or event? Do you wish to have every major subject and news event at your finger-tips—condensed, sorted, filed and indexed for ready reference? *FACTS ON FILE* does it for you by means of a *weekly 8-page digest* that covers world news in capsule form, stripped of verbiage, opinion, and comment.

FACTS ON FILE saves you hours of reading time, improves your fund of knowledge, gives you all the news of the world including World War II, National and Foreign Affairs, Latin America, Finance, Business, Arts, Science, Education, Religion, Sports, Obituaries, etc., in handy reference form. Authoritative, concise, easy to read.

With *FACTS ON FILE* you can discard your clippings, notes, and stacks of magazines. Acclaimed a "MIRACLE OF CONDENSATION" *FACTS ON FILE* is endorsed by prominent leaders in all walks of life as invaluable for quickly locating facts, checking dates, figures, speeches, and names. Busy executives, speakers, governments, schools, libraries, business firms subscribe to *FACTS ON FILE as the ONLY publication of its kind in America.* Each weekly Digest comes to you with a Cumulative Index that keeps *FACTS ON FILE* up-to-date automatically.

SPECIAL OFFER

TRY FACTS ON FILE for 5 weeks for only $1.00 (value $2.50). Regular subscribers at $25.00 a year receive a handsome loose-leaf DE LUXE BUCKRAM BINDER FREE OF CHARGE (Size 9½ x 11½ inches). Holds a year's supply of Digests and Indexes.

Send the coupon below with only $1.00 for special 5-weeks' trial, which includes latest Quarterly Index FREE OF CHARGE.

FACTS-ON-FILE
"THE NEWS OF THE WORLD IN CAPSULE FORM"
516 5TH Ave., New York 18, N. Y.

☐ I enclose $1.00 for Special 5-weeks' trial service to FACTS ON FILE, which entitles me to latest 22-page Quarterly Index FREE.
N

Name.....

Address.....

.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Freedom for Lesser Breeds

Dear Sirs: Going through my papers from Puerto Rico, where I spent some time as a visiting professor, I found again the cablegram from New York that reached me on October 10: "Salvemini, Sturzo, and myself will speak October 12 in great Carnegie Hall meeting on Italian situation. Please cable message expressing your opinion on Italian Darlanism. (*Signed*) Pacciardi."

I cabled: "Consider me present with all three of you. One is the protest as one is the hope."

It was a message succinct enough not to clog the line. But it did not reach the addressee. Pacciardi, ten days later, surprised me with a letter expressing his and our friends' surprise at my inexplicable silence.

The Western Union and the cable office, I immediately ascertained, were guiltless. Instructed by experts on the insular situation, I applied to the censor in San Juan. "It is my firm conviction," I wrote, "that nothing in the message violated war-time or other regulations, while it is my assumption that in dubious cases the sender is usually advised by the censor's office and asked to withdraw or to modify the message. A kind explanation would be appreciated." The censor replied that his records showed "no interference on the part of cable censorship." "Any further communication on this subject," he added, "should be addressed to the Chief Cable Censor, Washington, D. C." I thereupon sent the documents to the Chief Censor with my question appended thereto.

He answered, on November 29, as follows: "Your letter of 17 November, 1943, is acknowledged. It is not the policy of this office to give any information concerning the ultimate disposition of international communications, since all messages are filed at the risk of the sender and may be stopped, delayed, or otherwise dealt with at the discretion of the censor without notice. We regret that we cannot be more helpful to you. (*Signed*) Charles S. Sullivan, Jr., by direction."

Charles S. Sullivan, and those who direct him, are herewith courteously requested to stop and listen. Communications between the Caribbean island and the American mainland can be called "international" only by virtue of a figure of speech whose boldness only advocates of Puerto Rican independence can adequately appraise. That island, at any rate, is a possession of the United States, not the private estate of a political clique. It is a naval and air base, serving a national and supernational cause, not a reserved ground whereon any Mr. Sullivan is entitled to build a sanctuary of mute conformism in favor of the particular passions and interests he personally prefers. The censor's right and duty is to interfere with communications affecting our military security and secrecy, not with such as may perturb Darlans, Badoglios, and their patrons in the State Department. If, for reasons other than strictly military, he tampers with the freedom of speech of Puerto Ricans and of Americans in Puerto Rico, he misuses a power that was not granted to him in order that the island we hold in trust may be degraded to a most un-American colonial status. Much, of course, is left to what he calls his "discretion"; but discretion, to put it mildly, is not synonymous with indiscretion.

G. A. BORGESE

Chicago, Ill., March 15

Lesson in Calumny

Dear Sirs: Recently Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, attacked me as an "ambiguous and sinister figure." Mr. Browder's speech, delivered in Cleveland on January 30, was made a page 1 story in the *Daily Worker* the next day. It has just come to my attention.

I came to the United States in the spring of 1943 at the joint invitation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and was received again in January, 1944, by representatives of United States labor groups. After a visit to the International Labor Office in Montreal, I was the guest at a luncheon given by a joint committee of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in New York, where I also addressed the C. I. O. War Relief Committee. A few days later I spoke before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at Miami.

Mr. Browder delivered his attack a few days after my departure from the United States. He also charged me with having pleaded in Washington "the case of pro-Nazi conspiracy," by which he meant the recognition of the Bolivian Junta which had just seized power. He charged further that I had "for some time been the special protégé of the Adolph Berle group in the State Department and of Jack Herling, head of the labor section of Nelson Rockefeller's organization." "These gentlemen," added Mr. Browder, "built up Ibañez for the role of opposition to Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Latin American Confederation of Labor."

I have for a long time held the belief that the average man in the United States is guided by high moral standards. Generally, he is an honorable and truthful man. Unfortunately, there must be some exceptions; otherwise it could not be explained how Earl Browder—I presume he is the same Earl Browder in whose behalf I signed on several occasions petitions for his release from jail, addressed to President Roosevelt—could attack me in a long list of incorrect statements and calumnies.

I do not know what reasons this gentleman could have for insulting me, but he is guilty of a shameful lie when he states that I am a protégé of Messrs. Berle and Herling, that I have argued in favor of the recognition of the present Bolivian government, and that I wish to dislodge Lombardo Toledano from the presidency of the C. T. A. L. Not a single one of these statements is true; and they reveal Citizen Browder as a man devoid of any sense of responsibility and incapable of expressing a dispassionate opinion.

I have been a humble but consistent anti-fascist fighter from the time fascism and Nazism first appeared in the world as a reactionary and anti-labor menace. I was anti-Nazi both before and after June 22, 1941. I shall continue to be while I have the strength to fight for social progress and human freedom. Mr. Browder is surely not the person to give me lessons in this respect.

BERNARDO IBANEZ

General Secretary, Chilean Confederation of Workers, Vice-President, Confederation of Latin American Workers

Santiago, Chile, March 15

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Legion Carries On

Dear Sirs: The Legion's self-assumed task of expounding and guarding "Americanism" in the schools of the United States stirred up a tempest in Colorado recently when Harry Bridges, president of the C. I. O. Longshoremen's Union, was invited to speak at the University of Colorado. The local Legion post and the state Legion commander, with the blessing of national headquarters, tried to prevent the meeting, but were bluntly told by Dr. R. G. Gustavson, acting president of the university, that the institution "will not be run by any one group, including the American Legion." Dr. Gustavson's forthright statement was probably prompted by the fact that the Legion had been meddling with the schools of several Colorado cities, the most recent activity being the ousting of the superintendent of the public schools of Boulder, which is the home of the university.

Such a rebuff took the breath out of the legionnaires for a moment; then Benjamin C. Hilliard, Jr., a Denver lawyer who was in Indianapolis as a Legion national executive committeeman, rushed back to Colorado as the "crusader" who was "going to tell the university president off." He turned the protest against Bridges into an attack on Dr. Gustavson's fitness as head of the state university. He was so taken up with the "crusade" that in his five-page "remonstrance and petition" he failed to mention the American Legion.

Harry Bridges addressed the students, as scheduled. The auditorium was packed to the roof, even though classes had not been dismissed. It was an enthusiastic audience, and a great demonstration of support for Dr. Gustavson and of interest in a labor leader. Later the students, as well as the faculty, offered resolutions approving the acting president's stand.

But it was not a clear victory for "Gus," as he is known on the campus. The notorious Denver *Post* called the invitation a "stupid act." The Board of Regents met to consider the situation. One of them, E. R. Campbell, a Denver lawyer, had already said in a letter to Trevor P. Thomas, state commander of the Legion, "Occasionally it seems that the faculty or students construe freedom of speech as a license to invite any jackass to come and bray." Another regent, known for his incoherent jingoistic pronouncements, declared, "In the last twenty years Colorado University has lost considerable prestige because of teaching communism." Talk to him, and you will learn that "Communists" occupy the White House and the Supreme Court. Such men did not fire Dr. Gustavson, but they did reprimand him and say the university was in error in inviting Bridges to address the students.

Mr. Bridges's inoffensive talk on national unity received hardly a line in the columns of publicity. Even Mr. Bridges himself was almost forgotten in the attack on the university. Surely Regent Campbell designated the wrong party in this fracas when he used the term "braying jackasses." F. G.

Boulder, Colo., April 1

For a New Era

Dear Sirs: Mr. Willkie is right: "We must have a fiscal policy that squarely faces the economic realities." But a fiscal policy, however taxes may be simplified and adjusted, that does not provide a basic and general principle for the just distribution of the wealth created by "free enterprise" is not facing squarely the economic realities.

Our industrialists, peerless in creative endeavor and in efficiency, have large-scale enterprises in prospect which will furnish employment for perhaps a million men. Such enterprise is the mainspring of our domestic economy. But in spite of economic conflicts, nothing has been said about a just distribution of the wealth thus created, without which there is no promise of domestic peace and security. Even the foremost advocate of economic liberty, J. S. Mill, foresaw the unreliability of the free play of economic forces in bringing about a just distribution of wealth.

Again and again we have been told that our economic salvation lies in a return to "free enterprise." But no attempt has been made to reinterpret "free enterprise" consonant with the progressive life of today and tomorrow. On the one hand "free enterprise" has created fabulous wealth for a few; and on the extreme other hand it has created an economy of enslavement from which a vast number cannot, unassisted, extricate themselves. In this age that is not good enough. This is looking economic realities squarely in the face.

The continuation of the capitalist system and permanent peace everywhere depend upon such modification of "free enterprise" as will bring order out of chaos, gradually mitigate inequalities, and establish justice and security for all.

In order to establish a basic, universal formula for the economy of "free enterprise" I propose that the President delegate the Secretary of Commerce to appoint a fully representative commission whose sole duty shall be to determine: (1) the *ratio* of profit justly due an employee as compared with an equally just *ratio* of profit due the employer or owner; (2) the *ratio* between profit and cost of production which in justice may be asked of the consumer for goods, services, or rentals; (3) recommendations for publishing these ratios and for appropriate legislation to make them effective in the economy of "free enterprise." These recommendations to be sent to the Secretary of Commerce and to Congress at the same time.

If power politics can be subordinated to more vital values and these ratios accepted as a general principle of our economy, a new era in the democratic way of life will have evolved with fair promise of justice, prosperity, and security for all. R. P. GRAY

Floral Park, L. I., March 10

Ups and Downs

Dear Sirs: Last week I was hitchhiking around the back woods of Louisiana, going toward the Delta. A car pulled up, a man stepped out and extended his hand. "Shields is my name." I told

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to your magazine.

☐ 1 Year $5 ☐ 2 Years $8
☐ 3 Years $11

☐ Remittance is inclosed ☐ Bill me

Introductory Offer to New Subscribers ONLY:

☐ **10 Weeks $1**
Cash with order

Canada $1 a year extra
Foreign $1 a year extra
Pan American Union requires no extra postage

Name.....

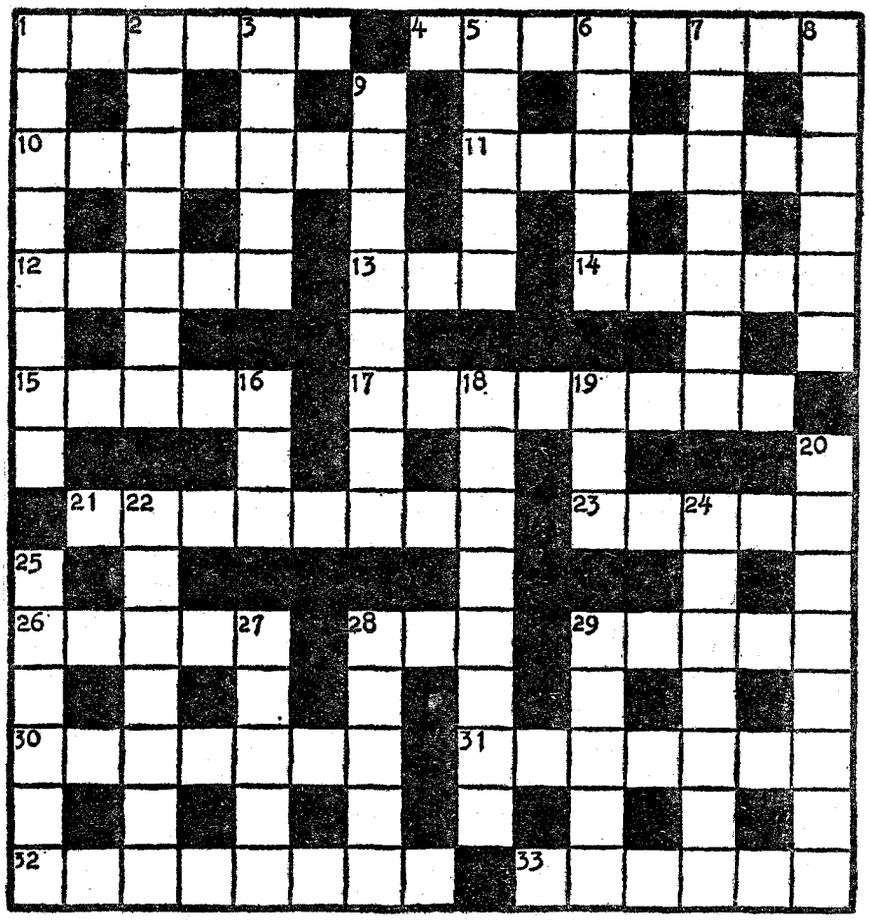
Address.....

4-15-44

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 60

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 How the market man records on his bill that the mat was a gift
4 "He was the mildest mannered man That ever -------- ship or cut a throat" (*Don Juan*)
10 A kind of looking-glass for the one-eyed?
11 Thoroughfares of political exploration
12 Shrunken *unterseeboot* (hyphen, 1-4)
13 The same
14 Anxious to do something
15 Ass into Italian poet
17 Zeno's reply when asked who a friend was (two words, 7 and 1)
21 They wouldn't last long if the fault were only on one side
23 Beverage of the man who drank like a fish?
26 It is rarely picked from choice
28 "O what can --- thee, knight-at-arms, Alone and palely loitering" (*La Belle Dame Sans Merci*)
29 Are as without space in spaces
30 Witty sayings about men
31 An afternoon ritual in England (hyphen, 3 and 4)
32 They are authorized to attest, but not a sign of the Zodiac
33 Passenger vehicles which got you to your destination in installments

DOWN

1 Home town of Two-buck Tim
2 Servile dependents
3 Implied, but not expressed
5 Here's an expert; what a break!
6 The subject for discussion is an article on me
7 No gruel for this idler
8 "Heaven but the vision of fulfilled ------ And hell the shadow of a soul on fire" (*Rubaiyat*)
9 He may never meet his match
16 The light drip of one suspended dropped on the ear in *Childe Harold*
18 Eel boots (anag.)
19 The letters here come literally in showers
20 Place for lace
22 Dishevelled
24 Meeting in cats and dogs form
25 Prehistoric stone table that seems to dwarf human beings
27 A Roman might be found in this kind of house
28 You will always find Elias in this part of the church
29 Sailor astern!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 59

ACROSS:—1 MAN-LIKE; 5 SOLOMON; 9 SAMBO; 10 GAP; 11 PILLS; 12 ANSWER; 15 SEA AIR; 16 DIALECT; 17 EARS; 19 SIAM; 21 SERVILE; 22 NEWS; 23 WARD; 25 NET SHOT; 27 TUCKER; 29 PRISON; 33 VIVID; 34 HUE; 35 CAPRI; 36 SITTERS; 37 SERVANT.

DOWN:—1 MISTAKE; 2 NAMES; 3 IRONED; 4 EGGS; 5 SUPS; 6 LAPPET; 7 MELBA; 8 NOSTRUM; 13 RIVETER; 14 SLAVISH; 15 SCALLOP; 18 RAW; 20 IDA; 22 NATIVES; 24 DENTIST; 25 NEEDLE; 26 TRACER; 28 CIVET; 30 SEPIA; 31 THUS; 32 SEES.

him mine. He pumped my hand and flashed a badge. He asked for my credentials, and I showed him a few cards and explained that I was in the merchant marine. "You can't be too careful these days," he said. "I've caught twenty-eight sabatoors since the war started. I'm known as the best deppity in Dixie, work with the sheriff's office, the state police, and the FBI. Just caught a sailor that deserted nineteen months ago. They'll shoot him when I bring him back, yessir." We exchanged pleasantries about the art of catching spies. Suddenly he started violently.

"What's that paper you got under your arm?" I gave it to him. It was the New York *Daily News,* opened to the editorial page. "Oh, that's all right. It looked like the *Nation* paper."

"What's wrong with *The Nation?*"

"Well, we got to look out for that paper. That's the one put out by the Seventh Day Adventists. Sometimes it's all right, but it's got its ups and downs."

H. S.

New Orleans, La., February 15

Fan Letter

Dear Sirs: Will you please give to J. D. K., the author of Hymn to Free Enterprise, the deep appreciation of one fourteen-year-old boy. Never before have I read such a subtle and witty piece on our "glorious and free" system.

ROGER R. BALDWIN

New York, March 21

CONTRIBUTORS

BOGDAN RADITSA was formerly with the press section of the Yugoslav government in exile. He resigned this year in protest against its pro-Axis policies.

LUCILLE B. MILNER is secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union. She has contributed to *Harper's, the New Republic,* and other magazines.

CLEMENT GREENBERG is a well-known art critic. He was formerly on the staff of the *Partisan Review.*

AGNES SMEDLEY was active in Chinese politics for ten years. Her books include "China's Red Army Marches" and "Battle Hymn of China."

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, head of the Department of Sociology at Howard University, is the author of "The Negro Family in the United States."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED